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**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PRESS FREEDOM PRACTICE BEFORE AND
AFTER THE “REFORM” : CASE STUDY ON *ADDIS ZEMEN* NEWSPAPER**

BY DAWIT EWUNETIE

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND
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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the current study is to assess how press freedom has been exercised before and after Abiy Ahmed was appointment as Prime Minister of Ethiopia. It also aims at examining particularly how state owned media practice it freedom of reporting and writing without government intervention. One state owned media (Addis Zemen) newspaper was selected as a case study. Based on purposive sampling technique, one of the reasons is it's the only daily newspaper owned by the state. Qualitative content (textual analyses) was employed to collect and analyze the news stories. In depth individual interviews were applied to collect data from two editors, one editor in chief and three reporters from the newspaper as well as veteran journalist and scholar from the field. Two year sampling period was taken (one year before and one year after coming of Abiy) for news analysis. This period was selected because much repressive or restriction were happening on press before the coming of Abiy and after "reform" as the political and economy structure changed, the government promises to give more emphasis on building democracy system that enables to give press freedom. From this period a total of 14 stories which published at political column of the newspaper were purposely selected and analyzed. Diversity perspectives, tone, balancing source, critique and government propagandas are the major theme of the discussion. The finding of this study discovered that the selected state owned print media Addis Zemen newspaper news reporting after "reform" was the same as after reform. Both before and after the reform the newspaper faced lack of information accessibility, lack of diversity viewpoints, lack of critique, serves for government propaganda, lack of investigative issues, censorship and intervention of government. The result of study also indicated that the press freedom in state owned media before and after the reform didn't show visible change. The government should have commitment to freedom of expression and the press thereby giving attention to the implementation of the press law.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

This part is going to discuss the meaning of press freedom, background, and statement of problem and objective of the study. As well as, the research question, the scope, limitation and organization of the study are presented. Note that: the researcher frequently used the government what is call word reform for all of the chapters which means political and economical change in the country or after Dr. Abiy Ahmed came to power.

1.1 Back ground of the study

Freedom of the press continues to be a contentious concept in international communication research. Several definitions of press freedom have been postulated over time (Becker, Vlad, & Nusser, 2007). Although there is no single, agreed-on explication of this concept, freedom of the press tends to be associated with the independence of the media in disseminating diverse ideas and in providing citizens with access to and participation in the exchange of information and opinions (Hachten & Scotton, 2007). In itself, the concept of press freedom is ‘contentious’ and there have been dozens of definitions and several attempts to conceptualize and operationalize it in the context of ‘media democratization’ (Becker et al. 2004). Academics have been trying for years to systematize and measure the degree of ‘press freedom’ and ‘independence’ using media freedom indices (Becker et al. 2007); notions of *objectivity*, *neutrality*, or *autonomy* are generally key points to the analyses.

Western studies are generally driven by normative- oriented approaches that, according to Benson, ‘may promote ethnocentrism and justify the US model of market-oriented, ostensibly objective journalism.’ He argues that this model strongly influences international organizations such as Freedom House when they rate ‘national press systems as free, partly free or not free, based primarily on political rather than economic criteria’ (Benson 2008).

In the United States, press freedom is often defined as the right to speak, print, or broadcast with no prior restraint and minimum legal accountability afterward. This definition can be extended to include certain elements of public access, such as freedom of information laws, open public

meetings, and records accessibility statutes. In fact, even among the Western democracies, there is no agreement about the fine points of press freedom. According to Robert L. “freedom of the press” which is common to market-based systems (i.e. Western democracies) as follows:

Freedom of the press is the right to speak, broadcast, or publish without prior restraint by or permission of the government, but with limited legal accountability after publication for violations of law. It may also encompass legal guarantees of (i) reasonable access to information about government, business, and people; (ii) a right of reply or correction; (iii) a limited right of access to the media; and (iv) some special protections for journalists (Robert,1994).

Likewise, in Europe press freedom is defined as an absence of state intervention in media activities. All of the EU- member states today have implemented guarantees of press freedom in their constitutions or judicial systems. However, other factors such as economic influences, historic, cultural and social conditions also have a substantial impact on media independence and on the media’s ability to fulfill their societal functions (*Andrea, et al, 2009*).

According to Rodney(1992), freedom of the press requires freedom to seek, receive and impart information to the public. Freedom of press is an absolute prerequisite for democratic society. It is possible for the press to create opportunity for citizens to express their own views, learn from one another, engage in discussion and deliberation read, quest political candidate.

1.2 Feature of Ethiopia press an overview

The history of media in Ethiopia dates back more than a century. Le Semeurd’ Ethiopie (1905-1911) and Aimerio (1902-1903) are widely considered as the first newspapers. Some historical evidences suggest that the hand written sheet produced by BlataGebregziabhere around 1900 probably preceded both of the above papers.

The starting of Minilik II School, first in the country had its share of increasing the literates among the people to enjoy the printed word. Haile Selassie I evinced interest in the establishment of a printing press as well as the publication of newspapers and educational materials. During World War I, with the help of the allied powers, he disseminated the news to counter the German propaganda through an Amharic newspaper called ‘Yetor Wore’ “War News”.

BerhanenaSelam an Amharic newspaper was also founded in 1923 with its circulation to 500 copies and first monthly magazine consisting different European Languages including an

Amharic section was founded by Mr. Weizinger. Until the invasion of Italy, many small hand presses were continued to be imported from various countries of Europe. The government press published at least 30 books in Amharic. 'L' EthiopieCommerciale; a French business weekly, was established in 1932. In 1935 two newspapers were established, a quarterly KasateBirhan (The Light Giver) and a political weekly AtibiyaKokeb (The Morning Star) but short-lived only for brief period (Amnesty International, 1998).

In 1941, the Amharic newspapers of "Addis Zemen" become weekly publications of news. Later, since 1957, it becomes a daily publication. The emergence of the institutions of the press, the media and the printing of publications such as newspapers and magazines across the changing historical period up to present is a question of deeper investigation of the phenomena at each period. During the imperial period the press and freedom of press was highly restricted and hardly guaranteed. It was characterized by exclusive control of the giant monarchical government and also suffers with censorship as well as restroom.

Compared to the 1931 constitution, the 1955 revised constitution incorporated the provision that legitimize the Freedom of press within the wider freedom of expression. Yet the right was also subject to a constitutional restriction that the exercise of the freedom of expression is under condition that could not endanger public order and the right of others or the masses.

During the military regime which assumed power in 1974, government came up with press law. However, the regime was known for banning private press and only allowed its own press and printing presses to operate. The Dergue also took a very strict of censorship that until its downfall. The already existing media only disseminate government ideology and propaganda under the centralized control of party. As compared to emperor regime, the Dergue totally banned private presses and have had very strict censorship and nationalization of privately owned mass media (Getahun, 1993).

Since in 1991, Ethiopia people democracy revolution front (EPDRF) come to power media practice had been a little bit reformed. Article 29 of the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution provides citizens of Ethiopia the right to hold opinions, thoughts, and free expressions. Specifically, Article 29 protects freedom of expression without interference, including the freedom to seek, receive, and impart information. It also affords freedom of the press and mass media by ensuring

the opportunity for access to information of interest to the public and prohibiting censorship. Finally, Article 29 transcribes the media's right to institutional independence and legal protection to enable the accommodation of different ideas necessary to a democratic society.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power in 1991, one of their first acts was to give the Ethiopian media far more freedoms than it had previously experienced, ending the censorship that had prevailed for decades under both the Dergue and the imperial regime, these rights have since been reneged gradually, in particular since the elections in 2005 (Tadese , 2010). Despite this liberalization, the relationship between the EPRDF and the private press has been one of deep mistrust. Clampdowns on the private press occurred regularly in the 1990s, with the arrest of dozens of journalists who were accused of publishing false information, or violating other provisions of the 1992 press law. This law allowed government authorities to detain journalists without charge (ibid).

Regards to Ameyu studies show that, the enactment of anti-terrorism proclamation law in 2009 becomes the most draconian law that inhibits the independence of journalists as commentators note repeatedly. Even, it is believed, it is the turning point in which government has controlled the continuation of media in the country regardless of press law that granted the floor for inexperienced private sector. The 2009 anti-terrorism law highly escalated the existing self-censorship of journalists working for both but, much for private media than government owned.

The proclamation came as the main impetus for imprisonment of journalists and the cause for dying of various media outlets. I.e. Eskinder Nega was imprisoned under the anti-terrorism proclamation for the criticism he made on government. Reyote Alemu and other critical journalists were the victim of prison. As of government, these journalists and others are accused of inciting violence against the status quo. Government officials have repeatedly said that whenever journalists are involved in criminal activities, they will go through the same process as any other criminal (Ameyu. Etana, 2014) as cited from (VOA, May 02, 2014).

Ethiopia the private press began to appear after the downfall of the Dergue Military regime and the introduction of the press legislation in 1992 as cited in (Gudeta, 2008) studies. However, Mulat alleges that the 1992 repressive press law that severely punished these flourishing press

products in the veil of defamation, dissemination of false information and threat to national security has contributed for the disappearance of some press products (speech by KifleMulat, former chairperson of Ethiopian Free Journalists' Association, October 21, 2003)(ibid).

Similarly a study which is articulated to the right of citizens to access information held by public bodies was conducted by GetahunAmogne in 2005. The study was induced by the right granted to citizens of the country to access information including the right to seek, receive and impart information in the 1995 constitution of Ethiopia. This research revealed that public institutions in Ethiopia are not effectively discharging their responsibilities of informing the public about their activities. The reason is partly attributed to the absence of specific legislation governing public access to government information. This research was done in the period where there was no particular information legislation.

However, after the elections of May 2005 held in Ethiopia specially private press media criticize government post-election process and result. Following this dozens of journalists of the private press were put in jail together with opposition leaders with charges ranging from public incitement to violence to attempts of stimulating genocide filed against them. These events have led to the exercise of less freedom and more tendencies of self-censorship. Many in the opposition camp and those working in the media currently argue that the overall political space in Ethiopia has significantly narrowed ever since. One may argue that the 2005 elections which saw the freest of debates with nearly equitable use of state media by the opposition and the ruling parties had ironical consequences in that the Government seemed to strictly limit free speech henceforth (Zewege, 2010).

While the constitution guarantees freedom of the press, but many provisions that limit this right, including restrictions on "obscene" communication, defamation, and criticism of public officials. The 2009 antiterrorism law, supposedly designed to address crimes related to armed insurgencies, has been used extensively against journalists.

As an illustration a number of media workers prosecuted under the law have been accused of collaboration with government-designated terrorist organizations simply for publishing information about such groups or conducting interviews with their leaders; the law has also been invoked against journalists who cover mass demonstrations. Ethiopia has one of the continent's

most progressive freedoms of information laws, but access to public information is largely restricted in practice, and the government has traditionally allowed only state-owned media outlets to cover official events freedom of press (Freedom of press, 2016).

Before Abiye Ahmed was appointed as Prime Minister of Ethiopia, there has been wider claim that this period was much repressive human right and dictatorial administrative system exists in the country. Human rights, democratic system, freedom of expression, information and press were more undermined by government. After PM Abiye Ahmed came to power, in April 2018, there was political and economy reshuffle in the country. Consequently journalists and politicians in prison were released and Ethiopia particularly giving priority for exercising freedom of expression, press and protection of human rights. This period was expected to exercise press freedom and PM Dr. Abiy told that government would give more emphasis to build democracy, press freedom, equality, justice and development. .

However regarding this, there were no researches that can show recently how media are practice in to the ground in state owned newspaper. So the researcher wants to study or examine the practiced of freedom of press in state own media before and after the political reform.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General objective of the study

The general objective of the study was to explore the practice of Ethiopia press freedom in state owned media before and after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed came to power.

1.4.2 Specific objective of the study

Specific objects of the study is

- To assess indices of press freedom in Ethiopia before and after reform has been taken;
- To examine the working environment for state own newspaper journalists and editors in particular in relation to access to information, freedom of the press and practice of self-censorship;
- Assessing current status of freedom of expression and the press in light of the press law;
- To identify how economic and political factors would influence journalistic practices;

1.5 Research questions

In order to be able to meet the above set objectives, the following questions will be answered in the study.

- What is the difference observed on press freedom after Ethiopia political administration reform takes place than before?
- How and in what situation, state own newspapers could get freedom in practice within Ethiopia press law?
- How Ethiopia government influences the press freedom in a given period of time?
- how can political and economic factors influence the press freedom in Ethiopia before and after the reform?

1.6 Scope of the study

This study addresses only the views and practices of one state owned print media case study on freedom of press before and after reform has taken in Ethiopia. This researcher choose *Addis Zemen newspaper* print media based on their accessibility that it has historical media and serve as alternative sources of information for the public.

The researcher assesses current conducive environments of press freedom through deep interview, textual content analysis on state owned print media. Before one year and after one year the reform has taken in Ethiopian or Prime Mister Abiye Ahmed came to power analysis state owned “*Addis Zemen*” newspapers specifically in political column news coverage and how to it portrait the stories regarding the news source, tone, theme, critique and propaganda moreover individual interview.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The process has limitations, including: The number of newspaper sample used and the number of interviews and news sample are small. So the study does not represent all journalists of the press and political news nor should it appear to do so. The responses and results only serve as a small sample of the press. Also, the study cannot and does not maintain to reflect every issue involving press freedom.

The interviews were conducted in Amharic, most of the respondents' first language. This made translation imperative, even though it is difficult for some complex ideas to neatly translate to English. As a result, the content of the interviews is paraphrased in effect, interpreted to keep the interviews' original sense.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The research would have the following contributions

- It would help identify factors affecting press freedom in Ethiopia.
- It would serve as an input to media regulators and advocates of freedom of expression or of the press.
- It would help trigger further discussions on press freedom in Ethiopia.
- It would help indicate the status of freedom of expression and the press in Ethiopia after reform has taken in Ethiopia.
- It would help explain, how the newspaper exercise its press freedom according to the constitutional guaranty rights.
- It would serve as a springboard for subsequent investigation about how press freedom in lights sustainably evolves for the future in the country.

1.9 Organization of the thesis

This research is organized with five chapters. Chapter one deals with the background, statement of the problem, objective of the study, scope and limitation, research question and significance. Chapter two contains different literature review that helps to show analysis the statement of the problem; the research method, sampling technique and data collection instruments part presents in chapter three; presentation of finding and data analysis also presents in chapter four and finally in chapter five, conclusion and recommendations will present.

CHAPTER TWO

2 Review Related Literature and Theoretical Framework

This chapter deals with issues that relate to press freedom, status of press freedom in Ethiopia, the factors that may affect freedom of expression and freedom of the press. The chapter also dedicated to revise local research on related themes in Ethiopia. Finally, the theoretical framework of this study will explain using political economy theory of a phenomenon.

2.1 Freedom of expression and media

The idea of freedom of expression and press are very wide to explain from different perspective. But to recapitulate very important point that related with press freedom the article 29 of Ethiopia constitution, convention of different rights and their limitation is very important.

Therefore, Ethiopia has signed various conventions on freedom of expression and among such conventions is the universal declaration of human rights. But Parts of the convention are not obligated to act in agreement with this convention; there is no legal and binding force. Among different universal declaration of convention article 19 of the Universal Declaration proclaims is one that the right to freedom of expression, which includes freedom “to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.”

However the right is limited by Article 29, which permits restrictions "solely for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society." furthermore, the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration "may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations" (UDHR, 1948).

As a matter of in fact article 29 of the 1995 constitution of Ethiopia affirmed the article of Universal Declaration of Human Rights on freedom of expression. Furthermore, the constitution in article 9 (4) states that “all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the ground.” Hence citizens are entitled to seek, receive and impart information. Therefore the grant of freedom of expression to the citizenry is stated in the following way.

1. Everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference.
2. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference. This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of his choice. Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements: a. Prohibition of any form of censorship. b. Access to information of public interest.
4. In the interest of the free flow of information, ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of a democratic order, the press shall, as an institution, enjoy legal protection to ensure its operational independence and its capacity to entertain diverse opinions.
5. Any media financed by or under the control of the State shall be operated in a manner ensuring its capacity to entertain diversity in the expression of opinion.
6. These rights can be limited only through laws which are guided by the principle that freedom of expression and information cannot be limited on account of the content or effect of the point of view expressed. Legal limitations can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of the youth, and the honor and reputation of individuals. Any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited by law.
7. Any citizen who violates any legal limitations on the exercise of these rights may be held liable under the law (FDRE Constitution, Article 29). Hence the country is supposed to act in accordance with the constitution and other international laws and agreements that it became signatory including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Furthermore, the right to freedom of expression requires not only that everyone is free to express themselves, but that they are also free to do so over a range of different types of media, including the print or broadcast media, subject to licensing requirements in respect of the broadcast media. Bratton (1997) articulates that in order to be politically active, citizens require means to communicate with one another and to debate the type of government they desire for themselves. Civic discourse can take place in various forums, the most important of which are the public communications media, both print and electronic.

2.2 Press freedom and Democracy

The relationship between media and democracy is depends both on the existing state of the media and the nature of the market. Democracy in each individual context where likely to be state led because of the prevailing dominance of state legislatures but not state bound due to globalization. Thus, this relationship also depends on political culture and media policy; the nature of the economy and the market; media and communication technologies and formats as well as globalization and social and cultural issues such as literacy, poverty, religious differences and daily rituals (Curran, Fenton and Freedman, 2012). Each of these factors will have an effect on media circulation and on media consumption and they will also bear influence on how democracy can function effectively.

Democracy has operated throughout history via direct democracy in the Ancient Greece as citizens' governing themselves or representative democracy with the advent of nation-states via citizens' are governed by elected representatives (Gürses, 2015).

As well as free press together with freedom to political expression and freedom of individual expression are essential elements of democracy. In line with this democracy is importantly characterized by equality and freedom since time immemorial. While there is no universally accepted definition of democracy, it is assumed that all citizens are equal before the law and having equal access to legislative processes as seen in the tenet of representative democracy where every vote has equal weight and freedom of the citizen is secured by legitimized rights and liberties which are generally protected by the constitution (Dahl et.al, 2003).

Similarly free or independent press entails freedom of communication and expression through medium which includes a variety of electronic media and published materials. Its freedom implies the dearth of state intervention. Furthermore, "independence implies that a media outlet has the ability to report information without the fear of getting penalized and that it is not under the control of any interest group (Islam, 2002)". Any "large scale democracy," according to Dahl, includes two processes: freedom of expression and access to alternative sources of information. As an illustration in a democratic society, these two directly influence the public's effective participation, enlightened understanding and control of agenda (Dahl, 2000, 85 as cited in Henock, 2008). Even in countries struggling towards democracy, these two processes are important, indeed more than a luxury (Norris 2006, p.2). Norris also identifies three roles for a

free press in a democracy: watchdog, civic forum, agenda setter. However, even more media roles are also possible, depending on the system of government where the media operates.

.As freedom of expression is one of the founding principles of international human rights law. Its significance in ensuring the vitality of democratic self-government is unparalleled. Freedom of expression provides the most important means by which individuals can fully participate in the political life of a community. In fledgling democracies like Ethiopia, ensuring free expression is ever more important as it pacifies tension in society and reduces risks of violence (Mesenbet, 2016).

In other words in many democracies, freedom of expression and freedom of the media are guaranteed by the same constitutional provision. Section 2(b) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms holds that everyone has “freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication”

With this intention news media is most effective in strengthening the process of democratization, good governance, and human development where they function as watch-dog over the abuse of power (promoting accountability and transparency), as a civic forum for political debate (facilitating informed electoral choices), and as an agenda-setter for policymakers (Norris, 2006). With this in mind press in their ‘watchdog’ role, the channels of the news media can function to promote government transparency, accountability, and public scrutiny of decision-makers in power, by highlighting policy failures, maladministration by public officials, corruption in the judiciary, and scandals in the corporate sector (ibid).

Other scholars agreed that for the media to pursue democratic roles, freedom of the press has to be guaranteed (McConnell & Becker, 2002). The normative Model of a free press is one in which there is freedom from any government regulation and control that would suggest censorship or limits on the freedom to disseminate information, news, and opinion’ (McConnell & Becker, 2002). With this presumption, scholars have differently expressed but with common foundations, the democratic functions that a free press could have in democracy.

Similarly, Maria and Eva also suggest that, free speech and free media go hand in hand and are crucial for democracy. Freedom of expression is more than an individual right. It is an essential part of democracy and concerns more than the relation between the individual and the state. The

mass media, i.e. journalism, are given a special role in the system built for safeguarding democracy (Maria et al, 2016).

Handland also forwarded that freedom of the press is a key element in democratization that play a watchdog role and an essential component of both democracy and development (Handland, 2015). Freedom of speech is a fundamental right, an important anchor of democracy, but it should not be used in an uncontrolled manner. Like every young phenomenon, democracy needs to develop gradually, with great caution and care (Raphael, 2006).

2.3 Economic and political factors for media

This includes the authority or political figures have felt emboldened by the media strategy and structure of media ownership; and concentration of ownership; the costs of establishing media as well as of production and distribution; the selective withholding of advertising or subsidies by the state or other actors and the extent to which the economic situation in a country impacts the development of the media will discussed.

Unlike a state-controlled media in which “politicians get an additional edge in manipulating information, reaching the public, and serving their private interests at the expense of society (Coyne and Leeson, 2004)”, a free and independent media sector clasps the key to guarantee greater accountability, transparency and exchange between the powerful and the greater populace, moreover to lessen corruption. The relationship between a healthy press sector and political stability is predominantly important because the media can play a critical role as a watchdog, and thus has the prospective to hold the government to account to its people and restrain extractive rent-seeking and exploitative practices.

According to Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Index on Censorship, IFEX, International Press Institute (IPI), and Reporters without Borders (RSF - Reporters Sans Frontiers) IFEX, RSF, IPI, (2016) reports, Political leaders’ words have effects beyond the immediate news cycle. It appears that members of the public and other local authority or political figures have felt emboldened by the media strategy of the current administration and journalists have found themselves subject to increasing abuse, harassment, and threats, particularly online.

Additionally to some extent politicians may behave opportunistically and serve their own private agendas when they interviewed, ahead of that of the public at large, and then politics is a kind of

principal-agent problem on press. The principals are the citizens of the policy who finance government activities through taxes and are subject to various regulations, and the agents are the elected officials and bureaucrats who determine policy outcomes (Timothy, et al. 2002).

Especially, state control of the mass media is a routine element of totalitarian systems. Here the structural constraint of the state largely dominates the potential agency of the media. In extreme cases, state-owned news agencies, broadcast media, and film studios act as propaganda arms of the state, promoting a narrow set of government-sanctioned images and messages.

According to Dutta, Pal and Roy (2011) thought a free and independent media acts as a means of enhancing socio-political stability which in turn leads to higher economic growth via increased domestic investment. Roy (2011) further argues that “establishing a healthy media sector can be seen as a starting point for achieving political stability in a country.” As press freedom issues whole agenda of the world, prominent political leaders disseminate their message about press freedom that is core for all aspects and how to handle and protect to ensure in every country in world press freedom day celebrity. World Press Freedom Day (2015), President Obama gave the following excerpted statement:

Well, as many of you know, Sunday is World Press Freedom Day, a day in which we reaffirm the vital role that a free press plays in democracy and shining a light on the many challenges, cruelties and also hopeful stories that exist in countries all around the world. Journalists give all of us, as citizens, the chance to know the truth about our countries, ourselves, our governments. That makes us better. It makes us stronger. It gives voice to the voiceless, exposes injustice, and holds leaders like me accountable. Unfortunately, in too many places around the world, a free press is under attack by governments that want to avoid the truth or mistrust the ability of citizens to make their own decisions. Journalists are harassed, sometimes even killed. Independent outlets are shut down. Dissent is silenced. And freedom of expression is stifled. (Para. 1-3).

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon also issued a similar statement in 2016 related to World Press Freedom Day: On this World Press Freedom Day, I urge all Governments, politicians, businesses and citizens to commit to nurturing and protecting an independent, free media. Without this fundamental right, people are less free and less empowered. With it, we can work together for a world of dignity and opportunity for all. (para.6). While significant political and humanitarian figures have spoken out about the importance of press freedom, civil liberties and

democracy, there are significant challenges associated with defining and measuring democracy and its related concepts.”

Article 45 of the Freedom of the Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation (Proclamation No 590/2008) stipulates the severe penalties that negative effect on media. This discourages the journalists, editors and or commentators from critical writings. It is to say that the journalist impose a self-censoring mechanism. No one wants to serve the highly excruciating punishment.

2.3.1 Government

The media is essential part of any political and social system. They inform, amuse, entertain, educate, and inculcate people with the beliefs and values of society and integrate them into the system (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). The media provides a sphere for debate and a set of channels for politicians, candidates, political parties, interests groups and public as well as the means of publicity and influence for these actors (McQuail, 2005). On the one hand, governments inevitably need for legitimacy for their actions which require justifying their actions publicly.

However, media has been influenced from different direction not to function properly. According to Ameyu(2014), the basic problem against press freedom in Ethiopia is the use of media as an instrument than as an independent social institution which has a role in every affairs of a society. This resulted from autocratic political nature of the country’s politics, the same to many other African countries (Ameyu, 2014). Too media in Ethiopia has never been free of government control. Due to this they were subjected to be a pipe line of propaganda for whoever controls them (Shimelis, 2000 &Skjerdal, 2012).

2.3.2 Culture

Critics have pointed out that, press freedom studies tend to follow the modernization paradigm and fail to go beyond the endogenous factors within the nation-state (Gunaratne, 2002). Meanwhile, the empowerment perspective emphasizes the notion of cultural proximity (Melkote, 2003). Culture is thought to be the common value-based interpretations, artifacts, organizational forms, and practices of a group of human beings related to a specific environment (Casmir, 1991). International communication scholars have long acknowledged that cultural traditions, as

well as national and regional philosophies, form the foundations of the press in countries throughout the world (Winfield et al., 2000). According to Barnett (2003), democracies can be played out in the formation of media policy; certainly media and their associated public area significant cultural characteristic of any local democratic form.

2.3.3 Media and ownership

No one media can be purely free or neutral in one or other way they execute the mission of the owner. The lack of diversity of the media ownership was usually seen by western researchers as an obvious threat to the freedom of speech. Russian television has faced the most challenging changes: after the Gazprom takeover of the only private television channel NTV in 2000, the majority of Russian TV channels are owned or controlled by the state ((McChesney and Schiller, 2002). Diversity of media in ownership is very important to entertain different ideology to build democracy and good governance. Therefore, different media interest ownerships are able to entertain diverse attitudes, ideas and opinions.

2.4 Freedom of press and access to information

Freedom of Information (FOI) can be defined as the right to access information held by public bodies. It is an integral part of the fundamental right of freedom of expression, as recognized by Resolution 59 of the UN General Assembly adopted in 1946, as well as by Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which states that the fundamental right of freedom of expression encompasses the freedom to “to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers” (UNESCO, 2005). In a free and self-governing society, access to information must be the default. The information in the hands of officials belongs to the people who elect them and give them responsibilities and they preserve their basic right of access to information (Jeffery, et al....2013).

Access to information is the major underlying fundamental principles of free press. Public access to information is largely and practically related to all rights. According to the United Nation General Assembly (65th Plenary Meeting, 1946), the right of citizens to access information is “the benchmark for all freedoms”. Citizens access information in a number of ways. One among these, media assumes the forefront. It is widely regarded as a public forum at where information

may be made accessible. David Lush argues that media must have an access to public information in order to its target of watchdog.

The media must have access to publicly held information relevant to the public to be able to inform the people properly and to fulfill its watchdog functions by holding office bearers accountable. Equally, all people must have access to information to be able to form opinions and make informed political as well as economic decisions. Access to information is not only a basic political human right but also essential to socio-economic development (Bentyi, 2012, cited from FES: 2011).

On the other way, freedom of expression and the right to access to information are both citizens' rights. Freedom of expression articles in constitutions around world may or may not mention freedom of the press specifically. This may be interpreted as a possible "conflict" between freedom expression concern and protect individuals but press clauses that provide special protection for press corporations (Carlson, U., 47). In any democratic country, the state has the responsibility to regulate and make possible the exercise of fundamental rights. The only legitimate reasons for limitations to the freedom of expression or access to information are those that protect other human rights, a higher interest or a higher value compared to the one being limiting (Nicola, 2016).

Uniquely in Europe, 40 of the 47 member states of the Council of Europe have adopted access to information laws, a total of 25 European constitutions recognize some kind of right of access to official documents or information, and a total of 35 include the right of access to information or the "freedom of information" (ibid).

2.5 A Brief overview of the Ethiopian Media

The history of media in Ethiopia dates back a century. *Le Semeurd'Ethiopie*, bilingual weekly (1905–1911) and *Aimero* (1902-1903) are widely considered as the original newspapers in the country although some historical evidence suggests that the handwritten sheet produced by BlattaGebreEgziabhere around 1900 probably preceded both *Le Semeurd'Ethiopie* and *Aimero* and may therefore be considered the first Amharic 'newspaper' in the country (Pankrest, 1992) as cited in (Meron, 2006) .

According to Amnesty International(1998)reports, press freedom was severely restricted by Emperor Haile Selassie's government (1930- 1974) and much more so by its successors from the 1974 revolution up to 1991 -- the Dergue and Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam's

Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) government. Under the Dergue, which committed massive human rights violations for which Dergue members are now on trial, publications and press organizations were tightly controlled.

The Dergue violently suppressed any opposition or independent opinion. Newspapers were official propaganda organs and of poor journalistic quality. After the overthrow of the Mengistu government in 1991 by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), MelesZenawi's government made a commitment to democratic freedoms and a multi-party political system, and pledged to support the rights to freedom of opinion, expression and association. However, today there are no opposition parties in the EPRDF-dominated federal parliament, although it contains representatives of over 60 pro-government ethnic-based parties.

Only a few opposition parties have been officially given registration and even they operate under great difficulties, particularly outside the capital. Pressure has been exerted on trade unions, local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and professional associations (journalists and teachers, in particular) so that they do not oppose the government.

Despite much talk by the government of human rights progress, the only open human rights monitoring group, the Ethiopian Human Rights Council, has been refused registration and its bank account has been frozen, although it has not been shut down. Government critics and opponents have at times been accused of supporting or having links with armed opposition organizations, such as the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and others. In these troubled circumstances, the main public forum for peacefully expressing independent and critical opinion has been the private press (Amnesty International, 1998).

2.6 Legal Frame work

The Revised 1955 Constitution of Ethiopia introduced the idea of freedom of expression for the first time in the country. Article 41 of the revised constitution stipulated, "Freedom of speech and of the press is guaranteed throughout the empire in accordance with the law." Hence, it seems that this old constitution provided explicit recognition to freedom of speech and of the press. However, freedom of the press was only a matter for the state/empire press. Private newspapers were not allowed to operate.

Like that of the emperor, the Dergue's constitution of 1987 enshrined provisions assuring Ethiopians freedom of expression and of the press. Article 47(1) of this very constitution declares, "Ethiopians are guaranteed freedom of speech, press..." Furthermore, Article 47(2) reads: "the state shall provide the necessary material and moral support, for the exercise of these freedoms". However, such provisions were in vain since the freedom of the press and expression was not practically exercised due to the repressive regime and party control of the media and the pervasive censorship that accompanied the operation of the press.

2.6.1 Press freedom and constitution in Ethiopia

After overthrow of the military regime in 1991, the press and its freedom has shown remarkable change. During the transitional government, the government has taken significant measures that ensure the freedom and development of the press. The most important one is the promulgation of the freedom of press which includes the right of expression without restriction and censorship. In addition, a press law is also for the first time codified. This changes in the legal and institutional sphere resulted for the proliferation of private press in the country.

Soon after the formation of the transitional government of Ethiopia (TGE) 1992 and later the federal democratic of Ethiopia in 1995, the press and its freedom is recognized as one of the institution that could ensure democracy and the democratic right of people in the country. In this regard the transitional government under its Proclamation number 341 /1992 declared the first press. According to the proclamation, the press is considered as a basic precondition of democracy in the country. As a result, the Proclamation insures its freedom and independence but this were not long live.

All forms of censorship and restrictions are legally prohibited. All people have the right to expression in any media of their choice. The proclamation further underlines the necessity for multiple source of information including the private press (FDRE, Proc. No. 341 /1992). Accordingly, its guarantee is that any individual can form a private press institution and perform all the legitimate and responsible activity of press. The freedom of the press is also incorporated in the FDRE constitution and further detailed by the press law.

After four year of transitional period, the FDRE government is formed by the FDRE constitution 1995. The constitution as supreme law of the land incorporates, among other things, provisions

that ensure fundamental right and freedoms. Freedom of the press, as a fundamental democratic right of the people incorporated in a various articles. In addition, freedom of the press and its democratic and legal implementation is provided in different other legal instruments. The constitutional provision of the freedom of press in the FDRE is incorporated under the broad provision that guarantee the freedom of expression and the freedom of the media.

Freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements: (a) Prohibition of any form of censorship. (b) Access to information of public interest. To this end, in the interest of the free flow of information , ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of democratic order, the press shall as an institution enjoy legal protection entertain diverse opinions. In addition to this, Art 29(7) clearly states that “violating the legal limitation in exercising the rights may be held liable under the law.

The proclamation number, 590 Art 1(4) also puts clearly as freedom of the mass media is constitutionally guaranteed. Censorship in any form is prohibited--- and under Art 1(2) states legal restriction of freedom of the mass media as , restrictions on the freedom of the mass media shall only be made by laws issued in accordance with the constitution ; and unless and other wise stipulated by expressed provision of laws enacted in accordance with the above article . Administrative measures that impair freedom of the mass media are forbidden.

2.6.2 State of emergency and anti-terrorist laws in Ethiopia

Ethiopia spent much of 2017 under a state of emergency first imposed in October 2016 following a year of popular protests, renewed for four months in March, and lifted on August 4. According to human right watch report about press freedom, the state of emergency’s implementing directive prescribed draconian and overly broad restrictions on freedom of expression, association, and assembly across the country, and signaled an increasingly militarized response to the situation.

The state tightly controls the media landscape, a reality exacerbated during the state of emergency, making it challenging for Ethiopians to access information that is independent of government perspectives. Many journalists are forced to choose between self-censorship, harassment and arrest, or exile. At least 85 journalists have fled into exile since 2010, including

at least six in 2017. In addition to threats against journalists, tactics used to restrict independent media include harassing advertisers, printing presses, and distributors.

In addition to this, since the contested national election in 2005, the state has continued to take measures which drastically affect political speech and harshly narrow the political space. These include the adoption of the 2009 Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, the 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation, and the 2008 Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation. (Mesenbet, 2016).

The Fojo media institute on “anti-terrorist proclamation in Ethiopia feasibility” study shows that, while many interviewees understand the necessity of a proclamation that can be used to protect the country against terrorists, they raise concerns both on the extremely broad definitions of terrorist activity and material support for terrorism as well as the seemingly arbitrary implementation of the of the 2009 Anti-Terrorism Proclamation.

2.6.3 1992 Press law and its constraints

In Ethiopia, the media institutions had been under the monopoly of the government until 1991. The coming of the Ethiopian Peoples ‘Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) into power in 1991 has laid a historical legal framework for the Ethiopian press, with all its challenges on the ground.

However, the Press Proclamations of 1992, 1999, and the Broadcast Proclamation of 2007 have not been able to guarantee journalists and media workers freedom in carrying out their duties with ease (Nutman. 2013).

Press proclamation No. 34/ 1992 is one of the examples of subsidiary laws that supposed to stipulate implementation details. Article 8 sub-article 1 confirms the right of the press and its agents to seek obtain and report news and information from any government. Article 19 further stipulates that government officials should facility access to public information. However, sub-article 3 of article 8 states types of information which may not fall under the premises of Article 8(1) of the proclamation. These are: “information designated as secret by the Council of Representatives or the Council of Ministers” and “information which is secret by virtue of other laws.

Government is using 1992 press law to limit free flow of information when journalists are put in harsh condition for their attempt to expose misconduct of public officials. Security organizations and state authorities' frequency invoke the 1992 press law to prosecute or intimidate journalists who are critical of government misconduct.

The 1992 law deals with defamation, false and offensive information, and incitement of ethnic hatred. 1992 press law was arguable the starting legal media framework in the country. Although it was not justifiable, government used this law to persecute journalists who is most critical of government as much as it does with those who infringe the professional code of conduct.

2.6.4 Censorship in Ethiopia

Censorship is one of challengeable media profession especially in developing country and autocratic government. Michael (2007), states that mass media censorship, is “the practice of examining certain media contents with the aim of assessing their suitability and appropriateness for certain groups of people and with making changes deemed necessary according to the legal or moral standards operating at the time”.

The other author Okunna (2002) argue that, there is some form of government control of almost every national news agency in developing countries; it would be difficult for Journalists to report any accurate and balanced stories, as they would have loved to do. The history of self-censorship in the African media has a certain relationship with the continent's overall political history. After independence, it became important for the newborn governments to use the media to promote national cohesion and economic growth. The outcome, inevitably, as state-run media outlets which had clearly politically motivated editorial policies (Skjerdal, 2010).

By the same token in Ethiopia media both broadcast and print had been experienced censorship for long time. Researchers point to self-censorship both in the private and state media in Ethiopia (Abebe, 2007; IREX, 2009), but the practice appears to be more present in state media newsrooms (ibid)

Reporters Sans Frontiers reports after the 2005 elections offer some insights. “Fourteen newspaper editors or publishers were rounded up in the space of one month in November 2005. From December onwards, other journalists were arrested and sentenced in defamation case”(RSF, 2007). Then, “After a disastrous year, 2006 in Ethiopia was a static one. Some 20

journalists spent it in cells in Addis Ababa, part of a group of at least 76 members of the opposition, civil society and the private press prosecuted for ‘treason,’ ‘conspiracy’ to overthrow the government and ‘genocide’” (RSF, 2007). As RSF notes, in the annual report for 2007: Self-censorship is commonplace, particularly on military issues. Ethiopian journalists are held to an imposed patriotism and foreign correspondents closely watched. Anthony Mitchell, working for the Associated Press (AP), was forced to leave the country on 22 January for having allegedly “tarnished the image of the country.” Foreign media have great difficulty in obtaining accreditation from the Information Ministry, which is essential to be allowed to work legally in Ethiopia (RSF, 2007 annual report). Moreover, political issues are the main area of censorship has been taken place.

Political censorship occurs when government hold back information from their citizens. This is often done to exert control over the populace and prevent free expression that might foment dissent. In order to safeguard and promote free expression, the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia prohibits any form censorship. The subsequent laws, 1992 Press Law and Freedom of Mass Media and Access to Information Proclamation, have included provisions that clearly ban censorship. Contemporarily, therefore, government reckons the proliferation of newspapers, magazines and books as the indicators of the recognition of freedom of information.

2.7 Some local research studies on Press law in Ethiopia

This part assessed local researches conducted in relation to freedom of expression and the press. Most researchers which have been done on press freedom were shows that there was an opportunity to flourish press freedom since 1990s. However after that specially 2005 national election press freedom was in dilemma and influenced by government. The following local researches support this statement.

Hallelujah Lulie dealt with A Political History of the Private Press in Democratic Ethiopia 1991–2007. In so doing, he used informal talks and in-depth interview methods to gather the data. He identified that the Ethiopian independent press failed to play its role as an independent institution in the new system. He put it that the press acted irresponsibly and unprofessionally against internationally accepted ethical and professional yardsticks of journalism creating a negative state-press relation where one considers the other as an arch enemy.

The study on freedom of the mass media and information proclamation, though sharing a similar data gathering technique chiefly interview, mainly focuses on how the current press law is operating on the ground. This study did not separate broadcast media from their print counterparts, or between government and privately owned media outlets. So the core of this study is the assessment of the practical application of the press law through the basic mirrors of freedom of expression and the press.

Successive studies on the various press laws enacted at different times are essential in order to understand the changes and the accompanying features introduced. It can be taken for granted that the government did not have any intention to improve the press freedom in the country practically. The government has been closely monitoring the activities of the press since the inception of the private press and making sure that the press is discharging its responsibilities: informing the public.

The media contributes a lot to mobilize the public and create consensus among the public. So, to make sure that the media play a key role in the growth effort of the nation and to create conducive media environment, the government should support the media to work freely and independently. The media play decisive role in strengthening further the process of building a democratic system that has been underway and in creating national consensus that can perpetuate the successive higher economic growth being registered.

In a democratic system the media are key players in shaping and molding societal outlook by disseminating current and accurate information. They serve as democratic forum for unlimited discussions and debates on various national issues and having understood these roles of the media, the Ethiopian constitution declares that the media should be given the necessary protection.

Since the period of the transitional government censorship is abolished and the necessary legal frameworks that are important for the growth and existence of the media have been set. As a result it became possible to see many private periodicals in the market and the broadcast frequency wave which was under government monopoly was allowed to the private sector that resulted in the existing commercial FM radio stations. That being the case, the growth of the media both in broadcast and print is not satisfactory.

Both the private and government owned media are constrained by many factors. Among the factors that affect both the private and government owned media: Low level of journalistic profession, absence of professional association that works on capacity building and ethical issues, absence of detailed law procedure that helps access government information, absence of structural and legal instruments that help protect professional autonomy and absence of autonomy of editors(ibid,p.13).

2.8 The theoretical framework

Theories are concept/phenomenon that helps in the clarification or explanation of certain issues. The theory used for this study is rooted from the political economy of media as an overarching theoretical frame to guide the study as media are often taken to be the product of the socio-political environment it inhabits.

The political economy theorists Altshcull (1995)states that, “the content of the news media inevitably reflects the interest of those who pay the bills” (1995). With the same idea (Parenti, 1986) asserted that, the independence of the media to publish any material is as far as it does not contradict the interest of those who finance the media. When the media is commercially owned the contents of the media reflect the interest of advertisers and consumers who are the major financers of most private press. On the other side, in what Altschull called the official pattern the content of the media in one-way or the other reflects that of the government (Altschull, 1995).

Altshcull was not the only one that discussed influence of media ownership on content. For instance, the political economic approach, which is very much molded by Marx’s thought, gives a broader understanding of how the process of communication is shaped. This argument goes beyond economic limitation to include the influence of the political environment in which the media operates. Proponents of this approach contend that the news media is not an island that operates without any pressure from the surrounding political environment (Williams, 2003).

Regarding on the influence of owners on media activity William’s arguments is very important to finalize: "Owners could directly intervene to insure their views prevailed and media practitioners, in any rate of direct intervention, are constrained in what they can report or represent by the economic parameters laid by capitalist production" (Williams, 2003).

The media is gradually more becoming a political combat zone where political conflicts take place not through guns but with words and ideas. That is why press coverage of political issues has received more attention from political communication theorists, media scholars, media practitioners and the public as well (Wolfsfeld, 1997).

Every day the newsroom is flooded with large amount information. In spite of this, quiet few get published as news. Parallel to this, the public is not exposed to every fragment of information (Neumann, et al, 1992). Keeping in mind the fact that all information cannot be news, another factor is the selection process that information have to pass through to ensure only wanted materials come out as news stories. This makes selection inevitable in the day-to-day practice of journalists.

Hachten (1981) also proposed five theories or concepts of the press emphasizing politics and economics: authoritarian, Western, Communist, revolutionary, and developmental or third world. Western concept encompassed both the libertarian and social-responsibility models with its defining characteristic being that it is relatively free of arbitrary government controls (Hachten, 1981).

Under the Communist concept, media are tools that serve as implements of revelation (by revealing purposes and goals of party leaders) as well as instruments of unity and consensus (p. 67). The main difference between authoritarian and Communist systems is ownership. In authoritarian systems, press can be privately owned as opposed to state ownership in Communist systems.

Those people who see press independence from government control perspective assumes commercially/privately owned media as independent. And call them independent media interchangeably with private and commercial. However, as Graber (2002) and many other communication scholars argue this is a mere assumption. Accordingly, Graber noted that no total independence exist in anywhere in the world. Media performance is influenced by external pressure including governments and advertisers.

Nonetheless, when talking about government control there is a difference in the degree and nature of control depending up on the country the media operates. The difference lays mainly on

the development of press freedom. Consequently, those countries where freedom of the press has developed through time, for instance the USA; government control is minimal (Altschull, 1995).

By contrast, in those countries where freedom of the press is dead or at its infant stage government intervention is high to the extent of limiting journalists' independent decision (Graber, 2002). Beside government control, Graber described that the pressure of advertisers and owners cannot be ignored. Graber substantiated this argument with existing cases in America where advertisers influence became highly pervasive limiting independent decision of news people (Graber, 2002).

But, not all communication theorists agree on the impact of ownership on media products (Kruger, 2004). Rather, some allot professional decision to journalists 'who are qualified' to do so. Critics on professional model draw attention to the vertical hierarchy that information has to pass through before it reaches the public (MaQuail, 2000). There are steps before the message is finalized. This wipes out any existence of personal opinion and reflection on final products. Besides, the working environment through time baptizes journalists. Thus, consciously or unconsciously journalists censor themselves to abide by the organization priority and goals (Parenti, 1986).

The personality factor posed the question of the extent to which media institutions take risks to retain their independence and perform professionally. As stated by Graber (2002) the press cannot ignore the money factor because it is the backbone for their existence. Likewise, Siegel (1996) gives due consideration to the economic factor to have great effect on media content: "the economics of the mass media is a key factor in how they are organized and the kind of messages they deliver" (p.32).

But, there are times where personal opinion is tolerated. Here is not a place to go deeper to the personality factor that might affect media contents. However, to mention some exception might help to understand where personality factor prevails more than that of organizational objectives. For example, Gibbs and Warhover (2002) distinguished some exceptions that personal reflection and opinion exist other than news: "although experienced journalists often include opinion in clearly labeled news analysis, editorial or reviews, opinion has no place in the day –to- day news story" (p.48).

Siegel (1996) from his experience from Canadian media outlined and discussed money as a determinant factor in media performance. Accordingly, money has the power to define and shape the role of media as well as their content. Consequently, the content of the media echo ideas and interests of advertisers and audiences, who are the source of the money. Nonetheless, he noted, when government owns and runs the press, the final product ultimately shows government priority and agenda. This is because government finances government media in the form of subsidy (Siegel, 1996).

It has long been recognized that, the quality of government policy requires the development of key institutions. There is long tradition among social thinkers including Rousseau, Smith, Hobbes, Locke, Madison, Jefferson and Mill who have argued that press freedom is essential for citizens to make intelligent and well-grounded decisions about public affairs. The idea that a key role of the press is to inform the electorate is central to the political science literature on the role of mass media (Timothy, et al , 2000).

Economic models of media influence tend to focus on the informational role of mass media, on the premise that information makes a difference to how people vote and that mass media provide the bulk of the information that people use in elections. A related innovation is the focus on economic outcomes (Andrea and David, 2011).

CHAPTER THREE

3. The study design and methodology

3.1 introductions

This chapter discusses the qualitative method used to accomplish the study. It also describes the method and tools of data collection implemented, such as the sampling method and in-depth interview and document analysis.

3.2 Research design

“A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure.” In fact, the research design is the conceptual or abstract structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (Kothari, 2004).

The researcher mainly used the investigated the case study on state own print media ‘*Addis Zemen*’ newspaper with textual analysis and interview to show the overall status of the press freedom. According to Creswell(2009),Case studies are a qualitative strategy in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. The case(s) are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Creswell, 2009).This study employed a qualitative research method due to the nature of press freedom issues that needs in detailed investigation and has knowledgeable subjects. A qualitative method that is in-depth individual interview and textual analysis used to collect information that complements the findings.

This study conducted to deal with press freedom difference appeared before and after political reform in Ethiopia. To show the degree of difference the researcher selected newspaper purposively and investigated how it produces the story without government intervention. The newspaper stories which are produced in one year before and after reform. To measure effectively degree of press freedom, the researcher purposively selected political news of the newspaper in political column with directly or indirectly attached with government.

3.3 Qualitative tool

Qualitative approach to research is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior. Research in such a situation is a function of researcher's insights and impressions (Bryman, 1988: 18). The main focus in qualitative research is to understand, explain, explore, discover and clarify situation, feelings, perceptions, attitudes, values, beliefs and experience of a group of people (Kumar, 2011). So, the researcher used the qualitative research techniques depth interviews, textual analysis on "*Addis Zemen*" newspaper to investigate deeply press freedom issue.

3.3.1 In-depth interview

In-depth Interviews are a very common research tool used in social science studies. In-depth interviews provide comprehensive explanation and understanding of an issue being addressed through finding the opinions, explanations and viewpoints of professional and journalists' respondent that are covered by the study.

Open ended question would be forwarded to two editors, one in editor in chief and three reporters from *Addis Zemen* sample newspaper; scholars in the field of media and communications as well as veteran journalists were included. The interview questions were conducted for journalists and editors newsroom to seek explanations, experiences, view points and their professional judgments of respondent's on the press freedom related issues.

Interview questions for the scholar revolved around theoretical and practical implications of the press freedom after and before reform; relation to the comparatively on free expression, media house environment, professional ethics, reasons behind the government to impose such political affiliations on independent operations of the media were revealed. Various follow up questions would be raised to investigate the responses in depth and give additional dimension for the interview session.

Check lists that help ensure the orderly forwarding of the interview questions would be designed in advanced. Field notes and sound recorders (whenever possible) would be used to record expressions and opinions of the respondents that would be transcribed in later stages of the study.

To look at the comparative analysis in a deeper manner the researcher conducted a content analysis of the stories published on *Addis Zemen*, a Government owned newspaper. The researcher would use the news from political column of the newspaper which is directly or highly attached (influence) by government. Since, press freedom is free from government control, while looking for all stories published during April 1, 2017 up to April, 2019. Then the stories would be coded by date, title and location.

The purposely selected political news and news feature in every first Monday of a month systematically would select from the sample and analyzed by using the measurements of theme, point of view (balance source), tone, critique and government propagandas.

3.4 sampling technique

Samples are very important in research because it is not feasible for a researcher to study the whole population. In other words, samples are preferable because they are cheap and quicker.

Generally, there are two types of sampling strategies. One is random or probability sampling where each unit or subject has equal chance of being selected as a sample for the study. The second type is called nonrandom or non-probability sampling which means the researcher does not follow mathematical guidelines like the first but selecting purposely.

While Probabilistic sampling includes simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and, cluster sampling but the most widely used method of non-probabilistic sampling is quota sampling and purposive sampling (Berg, 2011). Mass media researchers prefer to use non probability sampling in the form of purposive sampling (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). This study also applied purposive or judgmental sampling because it gives a chance for the researcher to apply his/her expertise knowledge to select samples which he/she thinks represent the population (Berg, 2011). The researcher selected state own *Addis Zemen* newspapers because, of *Addis Zemen* newspaper is the oldest and wide circulation government print media in Ethiopia.

In the light of this, state owned media are selected through purposive sampling technique. The criteria used to select the sample newspapers include: use of the national language Amharic as their medium; number of readers or subscribers; emphasis on socio-political issues; longer years of service in the media industry; size of its news desk and organization, among others. Hence, the researcher preferred to use newspaper for its printed materials and is available at the libraries.

Based on these criteria the state owned daily '*Addis Zemen*' would have been selected as sample newspaper to be dealt by the investigation. The sampling frame would be delimited political news story. The analysis was limited to political news column which appear in the newspaper in every first Monday of a month within two years.

Furthermore, an in-depth interview was conducted with journalists, editors of the sample newspaper; veteran journalist and scholar were included. In-depth interview was conducted with journalists and editors, who play the major role in producing the articles. These interviews mainly engaged the practice of journalism in freedom of writing in newsroom. As well as veteran journalist would ask about what is the line between politician and journalistic practice as well as scholars in order to complement the findings.

3.4.1 Sampling for textual analysis

This project intended to study how the state owned newspapers namely, *Addis Zemen*, is exercise the freedom of press on its news reporting. In order to compare and contrast freedom of press before and after Abiye Ahmed was appointed as Ethiopian Prime Minister, the researcher selected the political news which appear in the newspaper political news column after and before the reform. The need to gauge how much of the news products are affected by the influences of political officials is the underlying cause to undertake content analysis on the newspaper. Comparisons on coverage of political news in comparison how free from the political influences of the newspaper would be the prime focus of this tool.

In line with these criteria, 14 editions of '*Addis Zemen*' political column news systematically selected from the first Monday of a month through two years (at the entry of month first Monday). Before and after the reform (one year before and one year after) of them in order to analyze equal news in number with the time frame of from April 2017 up to March 2019. However, as the researcher observed at the newspaper the news that appeared in political category news was seems like social and economic related issues. So, the researcher is obligated to use this news as the newspaper put political category due to lack of clear identification of news categories.

3.4.2 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis refers to the basic unit of text to be classified during content analysis. Messages have to be unitized before they can be coded, and differences in the unit definition can affect coding decisions as well as the comparability of outcomes with other similar studies (De Wever et al., 2006 as cited Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). Qualitative content analysis usually uses paragraph of themes as the unit for analysis.

The researcher used to analysis the political news were the theme, tone, critique, balancing source, viewpoint and government propaganda. The more the news has neutral tone, critique, entertain different viewpoint, and less the government propaganda possesses in the newspaper show that relatively more free from the influence.

3.5 procedures of data collection and analysis

In the data analysis part the researcher has chosen a content analysis to analyze data. It is argued that the researcher's feelings and thought would be considered irrelevant to the study. This researcher identified a qualitative method of study to use. Qualitative data is analyzed with techniques especially designed for this form of data. The units of analysis for this study were newspaper articles (hard news, features news). The articles were taken as a unit of analysis if they explicitly covered the political items, focused on written texts.

First of all the documents of the organization basically the organization newspaper that are *Addis Zemen* documentations accessibility of data would revised and preliminary data would found. Then collect news which is written on political items identified. After that the collected documents would analyze with measurements, based on the theme or content of news story. Analyzing of source of the news are included balancing, multi sources used will be analyzed, news story differentiate based on point of view it possesses, different ideas may be what opposite side says included the in the investigation to compare news in accordance with reform. The tone of the story will also analyze negative, positive, neutral, or mouthpiece of the government.

Later on in-depth interview were conducted with journalists working at news room considering all the time ethical considerations. The data is analyzed based on the theoretical perspectives and the research questions. After interviewee collected and structured according to the similarity of

attitudes, the researcher finally analyzed with related literature. The researcher translated the data from Amharic to English which has been presented in chapter four.

3.6 Time frame

The study assesses the practice of press freedom on newspaper during the year from April, 2017 up to March, 2019 were purposefully selected, with a view that more articles concerning political issues in some systematic selected dates. This time selected to help identification mark between press suppression and freedom; and journalist in prisons were released and government would promise to improve freedom of press in Ethiopia and comfortable time to conduct comparative analysis. And also a good indication what is the status in press freedom before and after new Ethiopia prime minister elected and made politic reform. Within the selected time frame (during April 2017 up to March 2019), from *Addis Zemena* daily newspaper would select for analysis.

Articles: All articles (hard news, features news) which are placed in newspaper political item category were analyzed.

Journalists and Editors: The journalists and editors were selected purposefully. Three journalists, two editors, one editor in chief and influential journalists as well as academician were interviewed. This selection was used in order to involve journalists who had written most of the analyzed stories. Thus, the researcher contacted **Reporters** who wrote more articles, based on the frequency of the names mentioned on the bi-line section. And also political and economy editors purposely selected to address the advanced on issues. And also the researcher interview with one academician who has good experience on press freedom area and one veteran journalist due to long experience of the professional.

3.7 Background of the sample

Recently in Ethiopia, magazines and newspapers are maximizing their number. Until November, 2018 from 423 the total number, 300 magazines and 123 newspapers are working in the country. From those newspaper and magazines 27 had newly joined in November and October, 2018. But the researcher selected “*Addis Zemen*” newspapers because the only representative states owned media and its influence as well as formation.

3.9.1 Selection of Media Outlets

Based on the purposive sampling used to select a representative sample, the researcher chose *Addis Zemen*. The newspaper was established in 1941. Ever since it's coming into being, it remained under the ownership and control of the Government. It is a daily Amharic newspaper, which focuses on political social and economic matters. Amharic was preferred with the presumption of getting a clear picture of the issue, given that only few educated people would understand the English ones.

According to Ethiopia Broadcast Authority (2018), it has a circulation of 11, 956. The reason for choosing this newspaper was, apart from its being political, social and economic newspaper, due to the presumption that the Government has the obligation to take into consideration to announce what government is going to do in the country and its limitation freely.

Since then it has been working as a mouth piece for the successive regimes. The paper focuses on social, political, economic and entertainment issues. Since its inception, *Addis Zemen* has served three regimes with loyalty. It also covers both national and international issues.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data presentation, Analysis and Discussion

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the finding of the study and the analysis. This part identify the existence of press freedom in state owned media *Addis Zeman* newspaper after Dr. Abiy Ahmed was appointed as a prime-minister in Ethiopia by analyzing the stories published by *Addis Zemen* in the last two years. The interview results obtained from journalists and others are also discussed in this part.

4.1.1 Theme of the stories

Theme of the story considered for analysis in terms of the overall message of that selected story has focused on.

Before

A story was published on April 10, 2017 with the title “*Lawlessness in the rule of law*” (ህግ ባለበት የፍትህ እጦት). The story describes about a destitute woman denied justice. The mentioned woman lost her legal house in Arada Sub city, Addis Ababa in illegal way. A house which registered as government property, but a woman rented legally and lived for 20 years. But, at the end, the kebele administration forced a woman to leave the house without legal precondition. There was a quarrel between the administration and the woman; finally the woman claimed that she denied justice.

There is also story published in May 15, 2017 with the title “*An 80 year’s old man who became strange for his property and justice*” (ለንብረታቸውም ለፍትህም ባይተዋር የሆኑት የ80 ዓመት አዛውንት). Here the story states that senior citizen denied justice on the case of his own house in Addis Ababa, bole sub city. Even though, the man has legal documents and approved by his neighbors. As well as, the owner has been living for long period of time. At the end, he lost his home.

The story published in July 10, 2017 titled with “*merchant (Gullet) daily income estimation that rose complain*” (ቅሬታ ያስነሳው የጉሊት የዕለት ገቢ ግምት). The news states that grievance the traders

were based on neglecting the real income they gained. Traders complained that the government couldn't consider the real income and forced to pay tax beyond their profits. On the story officials on their behalf explained “even if it is done based on the research, it is possible to bring us to revise tax payer”.

The other is story published in October 16, 2017 with the title “*does symbol of national flag is source of difference? (የሰንደቃላማው ብሔራዊ አርማ የልዩነት ምንጭ ነው??)*”. The full story describes that the symbol on national flag creates confusion among the society. The national flag indicates that the identity and sign of the country's loyalty. But, the symbol shows and teaches that equality among nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. And the wrong claim is come from some individuals who lack knowledge, want to see feudalism and refuse to accept the people consent. Any individuals who has grievance by the symbol should be raised or presented their disagreement peacefully and respecting the rule of law.

There is also story published in February 12, 2018 in titled with “*Key participation in ensuring good governance (ለመልካም አስተዳደር መረጋገጥ ቁልፍ ተሳትፎ)*”. The theme of the story describes that problem of good governance in Adigrate town, Tigray region. The residence of the town needs rapid response in creating job opportunity for youth, accessibility of clean water and further infrastructure.

On the other hand the individuals talk to the media and who visits town explain that “the town is clean and hygienic. So they need to take this good experience into their town. Officials responses on the other side emphasizes that in the name of good governance question, there are groups who use this for political purpose and imposed on youths to destabilize and damage public properties. So the youths should prevent themselves from such terrible group or individuals.

After

Story published in April 9, 2018 with the title “*quality service for productivity (ለውጤታማነት የአገልግሎት ጥራት)*” indicates that the proclamation, regulation and procedures are not enough to achieve productive public servants. Research conducted by Ethiopian civil service institute shows that most of institutions fail to applying or using the procedures of the reform instruments. The main reason for this is lack of commitment of the leaders, bad work habit of, lack of the

empowerment or enforcement system and lack of good communication skill are mentioned. To solve this problem the reverse of this need to be applied.

Other story published in May 14, 2018 with the title “*There is no unsolved problem if public participation*” (በህዝብ ተሳትፎ የሚፈጸም ችግር አይኖርም). It is very important that the interaction of people with people and people to government should be strength for one country development. If the relation between one country with the other foreign country and government with people is not normal, instability will happen and chaos which affects political, economic and social matters.

To make public the part of the solution, government needs to build democratic system, loyal for people and facilitate participation of the public for every political, economic and social matter. The system of administration should be based on the surrounding situation, which are psychologically established, beliefs and culture of the environment to create problem solving society.

The other story published in June 9, 2018 titled with “*Creating social interaction rather than political incense*” (ከፖለቲካው ቁርኝ ይልቅ ማህበራዊ መስተጋብር እንዲጠናከር). The news story focuses on the strengthening of relation between Amhara and Oromo nations. Specially, the Gojjam and Welega society have strong relationship that exists for a long period of time through culture, language, and religious as well as blood interactions. Due to the fact that Ethiopian history focuses more on political aspects, the socio-economy and cultural interactions were not got attention. Unfortunately both of Amhara and Oromo people’s history was limited for the sake of political rivalry and conflict history intentionally got attention especially for the past 27 years. To strengthen the relationship among them discussion stage by academicians and people to people relationship should be given emphasis.

News in August13, 2018 in titled with “*To create competitive and ruling political parties*” (ተፎካካሪና አገር መሪ የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎችን ለመፍጠር) states that there are the opportunities to create competitive and nation leader political parties. Political expertise claim that, in Ethiopia there are different types of ethnic based parties that are not competitive and have not bright change or alternative policy which able them to win the election and administer the country. But recently there will be a bright future and smooth environments to organize competitive political

parties if they reshuffle their political ideology from ethnic to political, economic and social affairs.

The story published in September 12, 2018 with the title “*Blind teacher who engaged on street vending.*” (በጎዳና ንግድ የተሰማራው አይነ ሰውር መምህር) on this newspaper political column page states that, investigative case story on visual impaired teacher are affected by street vending. A teacher is from Menillik secondary school.

The story with title “*Festival that reflects Ethiopians*” (ኢትዮጵያዊነትን ያደመቀ በዓል). The published in December 10, 2018 shows that Ethiopia has more than 80 nation nationalities with different languages, cultures, identities and norms. They have their own dressing styles, identities and other values. They have been living together for long period of time through respecting, tolerance, defending their enemies and helping each other. However, recently displacing and violating the human right in the society by identifying their ethnic and language are rarely and becoming common. The viewer’s condemn that this is type of action were not the identity of the Ethiopia culture, every individual person should protect and fight for peace and bad habits.

The news story with the title “*Ways to Democracy*” (የዴሞክራሲው መንገድ እርምጃዎች) was also published in January 14, 2019. The theme of this news is measurements take place for the process of building democracy and to create conducive environment for multi political parties and democratic system, the attorney emphasis on building democracy institution such as reshuffling election laws, regulations and procedures. Even though Ethiopia ruling party follows federalism state and tells about democracy for above 27 years, there was no democracy, free and fair election. So, to solve this problem the attorney focuses to improve the laws and regulations on institution.

The story which was published in March 13, 2019 with the title of “*Immediate response to good governance*” (ለመልካም አስተዳደር ችግር የተሰጠ ፈጣን ምላሽ) describes that government has given hurried response for the highway traffic problem which suffered damage from propriety up to human life in Addis Ababa in Yerer surrounding. The case was that the car suffered damage due to road friction and the residents request to traffic management agency to build the speed limiting and entire problem to solve. So, residents give the praise for government.

As can be seen from the data, almost all *Addis Zemen* political news column have the same content before and after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed assumed the power. These can be explained; from the beginning the news paper published social issues under the political column, which are not really the issues of politics. In the sampled two years the newspaper focused on the issues that are related good governance.

In final analysis, the newspaper report political news that is directly connected with good governance from the lower to top government institutions. Other covered political news focused on portrayed rules, regulations, agendas, missions and goals ruling party, EPRDF. In relation to this, the newspaper totally ignores the investigation of big government institutions political corruption cases. Before reform, especially a year before reform, there were many big events such as public protest, various events related to political parties, and abuse of human and democratic right. But newspaper did not give attention for those rather it was focuses on government routine activities.

The same is true after prime minister came to power, there is huge political party affiliated return to Ethiopia from exile and other different ground breaking political measure was taken in this time period. Again here the newspaper rather than mere covering minor issues it was ignored the mentioned one.

In over all analysis the theme of the news paper shows that, the coverage political news was full of superficially reporting that are related to societal issues rather than covering strong political issues. And also most of the stories clearly reported to defend the government and its apparatus by leaving behind the journalistic ethics.

According to Skjerdal (2010) studies most of state run media outlets which had clearly politically motivated editorial policies. After reform, *Addis Zemen* newspaper gives priority the content of news covering for PM office news, parliament, ruling party speeches and activities were appear in front page respectively like before Abiy Ahmed come to power(interviewed with doctor Teshager, 16, 2019). This implies that the opposition political parties' news coverage is very low; in the reverse government higher official takes wider space of the newspaper. So the newspaper follows the same reporting style like in previous way without having editorial change.

Therefore the researcher finds that the newspaper was under control by government and lack of work independency.

Okunna (2002) argue that, there is some form of government control of almost every national news agency in developing countries; it would be difficult for journalists to report any accurate and balanced stories, as they would have loved to do. Most of the state media gives news coverage following with government ordinary activities and ceremonial reporting rather than they reporting investigative. They follow the same path with previous working trend, exceptional ideas and attitudes were not giving an attention. The reality of the events and critiques on the government is invisible on their newspaper publishers. If the media give coverage in exceptional case with deep criticize reporting it might be one of measurement of press freedom.

4.1.2 Balancing source of the news (different point of view)

Before vs after

Taking story title of “Lawlessness in the rule of law” and “*Better development or illegality*” shows that they couldn’t used unbalanced sources, they faced lack of access to information due to refusal of government official to address the grievance question. On the other hand, taking story after reform with the title “*Blind teacher who engaged on street vending*” is also unbalanced story, which again claim denial of officials to give information.

The story titled “*An 80 year’s old man who became strange for his property and justice*”, “*Creating social interaction rather than political incense*” and “*Immediate response to good governance*” are seems to balanced story. These stories considered the necessary sources.

In line with this, a story titled with “*There is no unsolved problem if public participation*”, “*merchant (Gullet) daily income estimation that rose complains*”, and “*Ways to Democracy*” are unbalanced stories, that consider source of the news is only the political experts who are not enough to address the concerned issue. The story is better if it includes the experts from different angles.

In addition, story titled “*does the symbol of national flag is the source of difference*”. It seems to balanced story, but it didn’t use the right sources. The news has constructed from two academicians expertise from law school and civics, from opposition party and ruling party as well

as from house of federation. However, the opinions forwarded in the newspaper were seems to have the same voice and the source were not the right person.

The same is true taking the stories titled “*quality service for productivity*”, “*Key participation in ensuring good governance*, and “*To create competitive and ruling political parties*” are single sourced and unbalanced that neglect tangible sources.

As has been noted from this study, the use of sources is more or less similar with before and after reform has taken in Ethiopia. Political news which published both before and after reform proves that newspaper mainly uses official sources.

All in all, the source of news before reform was mainly the government officials and political assigners. The news took as more worthy if the governments confirms or announce the issue and officials willing to give information to the journalists. The news takes as a source when sources couldn't oppose or critique the government and if they are member of the administrative political system. Most of the time, the newspaper couldn't try to investigate different injustice, inequity, illegality, official corruption and human right violation rather mouthpiece of the government.

As the same circumstances, after PM Abiy Ahmed came into power, the news source focuses on reform which is prepared by the government officials and supporters of the PM Abiy Ahmed administrative system. The newspaper may seems to present the voice of the public that is only what government wants but if the voice didn't match or clash with the reform it couldn't give coverage rather ignore the news whatever the worthiness matter.

Again, after reform mostly notice that almost all media focuses on the weakness of previous government. While in transition government, media free to condemn the former government with new comer political system what government say so. As the result, media couldn't free from government influence and unable to work independently accordingly with their manual manner.

McNair (1995) and others have explored such definitional struggles in clearly political stories and key source actors that considers are political parties in and out of government and social movements. This implies that Balance sources means a lack of bias, and it is the ethical imperative of a journalist to transmit the news in an impartial manner. This means that a reporter should, whenever possible, demonstrate the opposing viewpoints at play in a story dynamic; it is

important to note that there are often more than two sides to any story. Talk to the silent majority, or the group of people who may remain silent on an issue. News media often interview people with polar opposite viewpoints. In both sample newspaper journalists mainly used higher authorities working in particular institutions as sources. The opposite political parties and critiques were frequently used as sources.

Article 29 of the 1995 constitution of Ethiopia affirmed freedom of the press shall access to information of public interest. Especially government officials have obligatory to open their door for public interest unless the information affects the nation security. From this news story both before and after reform the journalists faced with lack of accessing information. As freedom of press couldn't assure without access to information, the story shows that lack of freedom of press in the newspaper.

In the long run, the idea that media should be free from government control and dominance of powerful sources is considered as a strong pillar of democracy (Graber, 2003). Therefore, news source diversity is a significant component of free media and democracy (Boler, 2010 and McChesney, 1995). As a normative goal, balance is easier to achieve on the surface by putting two voices against each other and, therefore, the more tempting path to objectivity. Domke, Watts, Shah, and Fan (1999) define fairness and balance as “equal, unfettered treatment of individuals and groups on differing sides of a topic”. The balance idea has been appealing in academic research, because external benchmarks of evaluation are often not available making equality of coverage of issue sides the default criterion.

4.1.3 Tone of the news

Before vsAfter

This can be explained in terms of the overall mood of a story, the way it makes feeling. If tone of the political news coverage is more positive or negative towards one or other of the parties, then the newspaper reporting lacks independency. On the other hand, the reporting of political news has neutral tone, and then the newspaper has more independent in news reporting.

The stories titled “*Lawlessness in the rule of law*”, “*better development’ or illegality*” and “An 80 year’s old man who became strange for his property and justice” show that the news story has negative tone. In addition, story titled with the “*There is no unsolved problem if public participation*” and “*Creating social interaction rather than political incense*” indicate that the news have negative tone which indicate that political reporting in the news paper has been continued consistency without having not change objective reporting. The both stories lack neutrality, so, the newspaper couldn’t bring independency reporting in the newsroom.

Story titled “*merchant (Gullet) daily income estimation that rose complain*” and the story titled with “*Key participation in ensuring good governance*” point toward that both of the tone of the news seems to be neutral tone which is including opposite sides. Again story titled “*quality service for productivity* and “*Blind teacher who engaged on street vending*” and “*To create competitive and ruling political parties*” designate that both of them have neutral tone.

The story titled “*does the symbol of national flag is source of difference?*” allocate that inclined with strong side of the government and positively portrayed symbol of national flag is brand of nationalism and loyalty one country even if there are disagreements on the symbol of flag. The story titled “*Immediate response to good governance*”, “*Ways to Democracy*” and “*Festival that reflects Ethiopians*” were indicate that inclined to government side, the tone of the news tells about government is working hard to response public problem.

The above political news story specifies that reporting in the newspaper lacks neutrality and in some extent inclined to the some individual or groups. Both before and after the reform somehow has taken the newspaper reporting neutrally in some selected political issues. So, the newspaper has been publishing political news story before and after, which are portraying positively political issues.

From the above data, the researcher can concluded that most of the political news story emphasizes that positive and strong side of the government administrative system or political ideology. Both before and after the reform, the tone of political news of the *Addis Zemen* newspaper generally focuses on institutional fault, lack good governance and active participation of the public. The finding indicates that, most of the news has negative tone. This might be purposely and intentionally selected to show the gabs of government institution rather

the general weakness of core political administration system. According to the above data, both before and after reform news story lacks neutrality.

Most of political news reporting in the newspaper characterized both the positive and negative tone. The newspaper either favoring any one party (segment) or critical of the other on party. A news story should be neutral in its content presentation. A journalist should never take sides and always work for public interest. A neutral story is the one which is objective, fair and balanced. The finding indicates that both before and after the reform the style of political reporting couldn't have change at newspaper rather biased and has the influence of the owners (government).

Regarding to entertaining different point of view in the newspaper political news generally, reporting in the newspaper before the reform had poor in entertaining different opinions, attitudes and political ideologies instead it focuses on the same voice that amplify government agendas, ideology, strategies and policies. An individual who looks government agenda in opposite way or has dissimilar ideas mostly may consider as and named anti-peace, anti-democracy, terrorist and anti-development etc.

The same is true after reform or after PM Abiy Ahmed came into power, the newspaper presents the story without including the opposite idea or different point of view rather what is the Abiy administration interest kept. Especially the news focuses on the Prime Minister speech such as justice, democracy, equality and reform. The researcher fined that most of the time the newspaper promotes Abiy Ahmed administration system and it uses phrase like to achieve the reform. On the other way a person who asks the reform critically and didn't accept the reform, the newspaper couldn't give an opportunity to include the opinion rather it called anti-reform and dander hyena (yeken gibe).

After reform, there were political and economic issues change in country consequently the newspaper might critic's old administration policies, problem of good governance in some selected institutions and organizations, strategies and entertain different point of views. This might suggested that the Abiy Ahmed administrative system couldn't give weight as the previous (before reform) administrative system on issues and the system desire to change accordingly on the history of Abiy Administration.

In the newspaper there were lack of diversity of voice in the news content which is directly linked as the access to media to questions of freedom of speech and access to media. In literature review part, freedom of speech has positive relationship with freedom of press. So, the data show that lack of diversity in turn freedom of press is not assured in the newspaper.

News media often interview people with polar opposite viewpoints that is one part of display in press freedom. According to Donnelly and Jack (2013) assumption: Free expression concentrates on the relationship between the citizens and the political power: so that the media can openly criticize political power and the latter should not interfere. States have both negative and positive obligations flowing from freedom of expression and pluralism. On the one hand, the state is required to refrain from interference that would distort the market and interference in media freedom. On the other hand, the state is required to pass the necessary legislation to ensure that a plurality of opinions is present in the media market.

News media often interview people with polar opposite viewpoints that is one part of display in press freedom. It can be concluded beyond any doubt that, media pluralism is part of media freedom and that it is the obligation of the states to ensure that this right can be enjoyed by its citizens. Synonymously media pluralism should ensure that the plurality of opinions and content reflects the diversity in society. In literature review part, freedom of speech has positive relationship with freedom of press. So, the data show that lack of diversity in turn freedom of press is not assured in the newspaper.

4.1.4 Critique and government propagandas of news

Before vsAfter

Critique can be explained related with the news story that evaluates identification of responsible body for a certain problem. Propaganda also can be explained any form of communication in support of national objectives designed to influence the opinions, emotions, attitudes or behavior of any group in order to benefit the sponsor either directly or indirectly.

4.1.4.1 Criticizing the recent situation:

Before reform published story on the newspaper with the title “Lawlessness in the rule of law” and “*better development or illegality*” be a sign of news criticized the officials who appointed to serve the public were not carry out their duties. The newspaper describes that officials were not responsible for their work and even they don’t know what are going to do in their position. As well as the newspaper gives coverage on “*An 80 year’s old man who became strange for his property and justice*” shows the gab that the stakeholders should be solve the problem by identifying necessary credentials. The story with the title “*merchant (Gullet) daily income estimation that rose complain*” a little bite seems to criticize but it lacks in depth analysis of the issues somehow the news defend to the government officials.

After reform; The news with the title “*Blind teacher who engaged on street vending*” as well as other story with the title “*Festival that reflects Ethiopians*” are criticizing the gaps and misconducts of the government and it should give the solution by identifying where the problem is, lack of good governance and making responsible for wrong doers. Other story with the title “*Quality service for productivity*” and “*There is no unsolved problem, if public participation*” show that there are huge problem in country to execute the rule and regulations on the ground. Therefore, this news was lean to criticize the government officials who did mistake on their position.

However, after the reform, most of the newspaper political news focuses on condemns the previous in administration system before the Abiy Ahmed come to power. For instance the story with the title “*Creating social interaction rather than political incense*”, “*To create competitive and ruling political parties*”, indicate that, stories which published after reform that critiques previous political administration system which was before PM Abiy Ahmed came into power. Consequently the news couldn’t criticize the recent political situation rather it condoms elderly political system. So, the data shows that the newspaper both before and after the reform, not that much difference in criticizing report in political news.

4.1.4.2 Propagandas:

Before reform the story with the title “*does the symbol of national flag is source of difference?*”. The newspaper couldn’t come across an argument from opposite side of the symbol of national flag questions rather it magnifies the value of symbolic by giving an opportunity member of ruling party. A story of “*key participation in ensuring good governance*” shows that the newspaper lean to the government agenda and it couldn’t critique government official who made mistakes rather hindering the agenda of public.

In line with this, after reform the story with the title “*immediate response to good governance problem*”, the newspaper was gives an appreciation the government officials which is the frequent duties their job rather it covers the big public issues. The story with the title “*Ways to Democracy*” shows that the election laws are going to reform for able to serve better quality political parties competition. Electoral board works to improve the political parties’ participation in the country. Therefore, state owned newspaper of *Addis Zemen* disseminated propaganda information to the public. So, political news criticizes the earlier electoral board of Ethiopia rather the current.

Before reform, *Addis Zemen* newspaper sometimes criticize undersized government institutions that came from the bad or lack of good governance, earlier period administration system and previous ruling parties. The same is true after reform the newspaper criticizing the government institutions and government weakness that has been done before the reform rather focuses on current problem of nation. The news has a problem of exposing corruption and discrimination tries to hide indirectly the responsibility of wrong doer of the government through covering by formerly ruling party.

In both period of before and after reform the newspaper lack of criticizing depth analysis of a certain issues rather it looks like take side to defend the government weakness. The government state owned newspaper (*Addis Zemen*) neglects the other side especially when it is problematic issues raised on the government: small in number of the stories is government critical. But, more than half of the stories are purely in favor of government. As critical reporting is concerned the researcher particularly discussed with journalists so as to probe their perspectives.

Most of the newspaper published the first Monday of a month within two years couldn't critique deeply the government administrative system and bad governance rather it has coverage the higher official's needs.. The researched finds that, political issues news critiques might be depends on old administrative system and government interest both before and after PM Abiy Ahmed administration.

There searcher from the data understood that, newspaper work probably critique roughly the lack of good governance, corruption and small public institution without condemn the ruling political parties system or without touch the government interests. According to Ameyu (2014), studies show that media in Ethiopia has never been free of government control. Due to they were subjected to be a pipe line of propaganda for whoever controls them. Greater dependence of news organizations on advertising as a means of funding is likely to contribute to pro-consumerist media content (Baker, 1994), corporate-sponsored content; more positive coverage of business and corporate bodies, more critical coverage of the likes of labor unions and thus an ideological narrowing of the news (Benson, 2010).

Government gives the guarantee the media's to criticize its mistake and tolerate in their news reporting, it is possible to say improvement of freedom press. Therefore findings show that both after and before the reform press freedom in state owned media couldn't get improve.

4.2 Summary of political news analysis

To summarize this part, the political news story in the newspaper was given coverage of government propaganda within two years and similar reporting style in political story both before and after the reform by emphasizing the ruling party's ideology and agendas. From the finding most of political news of the newspaper before and after the reform indicates that press freedom show unchanged. Before reform, the newspaper while reporting uses words to empower the public participation, to solve lack of good governance and to possesses fast development change and the in its news story reporting. Equally important, after reform has also the news coverage of newspaper used words in the reporting such as to successive the reform, be unify (medemer), unable to reverse the reform and to assured democracy, justice and equity among people etc. Therefore, the newspaper the coverage of news reporting in political aspects was not get freedom on both before and after reforms on its newsroom. The newspaper commonly resembles with the come up political environments. As the result, after reform state

owned press couldn't get freedom as like previous, even if government has repeatedly speaking about the freedom of press exercised.

4.3. The speech of Pm Abiy Ahmed and its applicability

At the time of PM Abiy Ahmed nominated in April 2, 2018, and came into power, there were speeches about the freedom of expression and democracy mainly mentioned by him. Even though, the constitution of Ethiopia ratified the right to free expression, press and information. But, in practical those rights were not exercised properly. As a result, after Prime Minister Came into power, Abiy Ahmed was promised to assure the rights to freedom of expression, press, information and democracy. However, the researcher understood from the data, freedom of press in Ethiopian government, the media are owned by the state are not practicing the freedom of press as it has been seen from the data. Especially, main state owned media are continuing being the mouthpiece of ruling parties not the general public.

4.4 Interviewing of the *Addis Zemen* newspaper employees

In this part, factors that affect press freedoms are organized with the same claim of the interviewees as they forwarded. The practice of press freedom in state owned media after the reform and before reform, accessibility of information, government intervention; trends of media house, professional ethics are examined. As well as the media ownership, political affiliation media managers, character of transition government, constraints of media and its solution, entertaining of different point of view and one story published by the newspaper were related with press freedom are discussed below.

4.4.1 Freedom of press before and after PM Abiy Ahmed appointed.

Some scholars argued that press freedom defines as the media are allowing publishing or disseminating information without government restriction. Regards to press freedom after and before PM Abiy Ahmed came into power; the researcher comparatively analyzed the government owned print media which is *Addis Zemen* whether it improves the freedom of press (without government intervention) or not regarding to the practical appearance to the ground. The researcher interviewed three reporters, two editors and one editor in chief those who are working in *Addis Zemen* newspaper before and after PM Abiy Ahmed came into power. The respondents' suggestions and feelings were analyzed below.

4.4.2 The media freedom after and before PM Abiy Ahmed elected

Some argue that after Abiy Ahmed came into power in March 2018, press freedom was comparatively better than before and it has a little bit change and able the journalists to talk freely, practice reporting on socio-economic and political issues in to the ground. On the other hand, most of commentaries also suggested that after reform, press freedom couldn't change.

4.4.2.1 Positive intentions toward the media improvement after reform

The researcher conducted the interview with eight persons about press freedom improvement before and after the reform has been taken in Ethiopia. But, one informant suggested that press freedom changed relatively when it is compared with the previous times as it has been seen in our the country, Ethiopia. Informant A argued that even if the media law and proclamation are not revised yet, government media are likely liberated from government propaganda comparatively than before, where it has been serving as a mouthpiece for politics.

4.4.2.2 Press freedom progress is not visible after reform

All most all of the informants responded that even though political economy reform has taken in Ethiopia, press freedom in state owned media are not changed. Informant B strengthens this assumption that the government media are not changed from the previous media landscape. It has been continuing by serving ruling party like the previous time with being loyal to the state. The respondent put the reason that the government media flaws with the government agenda setting rather than they planned by itself. And also, in the other side in terms of media law and proclamation, were not changed.

Not only the press laws are the setback to the media to practice on the ground but also creating conducive environment is very important to make sure press freedom was stressed by the respondent. Informant C also supported the idea of practical invisibility of press freedom, there was nothing change seen in state owned media after Abiy Ahmed came into power. Informant D in the other side has been said the same idea that argued on press freedom the only different was seen after PM Abiy Ahmed orally said, press freedom is allowed but in practice, there were no change at all. This was the only difference before the reform. And also, Informant D added more explanations as follows:

The government informed us about the exercising of press freedom and gives more attention to support media to enable freely exercise their right in actuality. However when we look beyond speech different obstacles come from the officials' in secretly. Especially government owned media face many challenges to exercise freedom of expression freely. This is due to the government officials' intervention in the newsroom. For instance, reporting conflicting news for journalists are challenging matters in the newsroom. And also issues that touch or related with government weaknesses and faults were not got coverage or publish. On the other hand, following the problems and conflicts were solved, the situation is becoming peaceful and the government action follows, media might be getting opportunity to report the issues according to the official intention and orientation.

The *Addis Zemen* newspaper in chief editor interviewee on April 11, 2019 told that, laws are not that much problematic by themselves. There are lots of challenges in media house but press freedom is relative regarding with nation interest and ideology, any media cannot completely free. Similarly, in Ethiopia state owned media have their role to execute the government mission as the informant said. In a relatively speaking, after the reform, the state owned media are still the same like before.

Scholars have also similar views. A lecture who thought Addis Ababa university journalism school explained the status of press freedom after and before PM Abiy Ahmed came into power, almost it remained the same. And also, a lecturer added that, after the reform of the government, many journalists who were in prison and many opposition political party leaders were released from the prisons. This showed that the willingness of the government to keep media freedom.

However, many obstacles and suppressive of journalists were visible to them not to move freely place to place in order to perform journalism activities as it was underlined. As it can be seen clearly, press freedom suppress in external conditions while the journalists report the ideas that are related with political and security issues, there was no suitable media environment. In this reason, the media were not freely performing daily activities.

On the other way, as the interviewee pointed out that, after the reform, closed print media houses opened and freely entertain different ideas as they were seen and previous prohibited political parties started to be listen via media. But media polarized still were alive like before reform as the informant criticized. For example, different Ethiopian media houses which were placed and formed in foreign country, after they came to Ethiopia and they will continue without reform of their content of political stand in which it follows war journalism system against the government

position as it has identified. They were not serving like formal ethics of journalism which was not neutral and fair reporting in media outlets.

In this case, OMN and ESAT media houses were exemplars. These were engaging in ethnic based and citizen political ideology followers respectively. Those media were working in contrary positions that represent their struggle political party stand and support them as it has been observed. So, this shows that media freedom was no longer seen because they were biased by influences in political affiliation. And they were not including different attitudes and ideology to come up and discuss with equally to overcome the problems as a lecturer has said.

According to the above explanation, activists who are discussing and leading the society at the same time are working journalism activities which lead into clash of interests. This miscellaneous works were not possible to say that press freedom reserved. As the respondent differentiated that, even though freely expression of ideas without control, the way they present and disseminate the message through mass media, influenced by political system which was no possible to say press freedom existed.

For this reason, the basic problem against press freedom in Ethiopia was the use of media as an instrument than as an independent social institution which has a role in every affairs of the society. This resulted from autocratic political nature of the country's politics, the same to many other African countries. As a matter of fact, the use of media merely for propaganda purpose so as to attack who are critical to government is common.

4.4.2.3 Media status in transition government

The interviewee selected purposely due to the long job experience in journalism profession and also regarding to the struggling of human right freedom in Ethiopia. Press freedom after and before PM Abiy Ahmed remains the same due to the characteristics of transitional government said veteran journalist. Most of the time, the country during transition period, press might be seems to have independence but after that, the government limits the freedom of media as it has been stressed. After PM Abiy Ahmed came into power, especially state owned media did not shows the weak side of current administration rather they were criticizing the former party of EPDRF, PM, Melese Zenawi administrative system.

However, state owned media are in able to criticize the PM Abiy administrative system which is one indicator of press influence by the government. Those media may criticize only government institutions misconduct of before the reform. The interviewee believes that, press freedom assured after democracy exists in Ethiopia. But, it doesn't alive still now. So, without building system of democracy, formulating press law by itself cannot achieve media freedom in the country, as a veteran journalist explained. In addition to this:

We remember the transition period in Ethiopia during military junta Mengestu and, EPRDF came into power; press freedom relatively appeared than before because transition at that movement, but it wouldn't stay for long period in both administrative systems. Most of the time in this period, it is difficult to control the media by ruler party since it is a new comer. Then after the ruling party got acceptance and strengths its power to undermine the media and then back to previous activity pressuring the media and journalists not to function properly. The trend of state owned media serving the government is continuous as the same as before the reform; totally shifting from supporting previous administrative systems into the Abiy administrative system.

4.4.2.4 Entertaining different viewpoints in newspaper

Regarding to the reform almost all informants agreed that, the newspaper has limitations in giving opportunities for different opinions which are enduring the same before PM Abiy administration. They suggested that before the reform, there were opportunities to cover opposite political parties, however the news reported according to what were the government requirements. In like manner recently observed; the newspaper well received and present the news, so as to the competitive political parties' proposal were fit with the government. From five informants only one disagreed by this idea. Informant A in contrary to this, after reform different viewpoints covered in newspaper which shows there was tangible change than before PM Abiy came into power.

In addition, informant B stressed that, before reform the competitive political parties' press release or claims have got coverage when they were supporting the government actions or on the other way, they were not opposing the ruling party. "The same as now a day's until the news criticizing or opposing the government, it is possible to cover whatever the source you use" as it has been said. When journalists cover the news that criticizes the government and discuss with competitive political parties freely, then it is possible to say press freedom exercised.

Moreover, informant E also agreed that, before PM Abiy, the ruling party strongly believes in the ideology of ethnic federal system and anyone couldn't condemn this part. However, now this issue is not fretful after reform, due to this, it is possible to criticize but can't be out of this intention. "Before reform media banned any contact with the government call the terrorist group and couldn't produce the news using as a source" alleged informant C, the same thing is happened at this time after reform journalists cannot publish the news about who are government call obstacles for reform.

Regarding with giving an opportunities different idea in newspaper, in chief editor of *Addis Zemen* newspaper believes that freedom is relative with the country situation, provided that it was not recommended to include opposite ideas within instability of Ethiopia that leads in to violence. Different viewpoints and conflicting news reporting are not important to create prosperity and peace in a country rather than it aggravated instability in country. However, according to Dutta, Pal and Roy (2011) a free and independent media acts as a means of enhancing socio-political stability which in turn leads to higher economic growth via increased domestic investment. Roy (2011) further argues that "establishing a healthy media sector can be seen as a starting point for achieving political stability in a country." This implies that when free media exist in one nation better sociopolitical stability and gross will be established.

Likewise, Ethiopian media are not willing to discuss with different ideas to come up with consent rather they are appreciating themselves by discussing with the persons who have similar ideas, said A lecturer. Somehow, different ideology holders were coming to argue each other was limited in some media houses. So, as a whole, only media expressing its ideas freely not enabled guarantee for media freedom as the respondent illustrated. To have free press, the media houses must be free from any kind of political influences take into account. So, one thing that differs from before reform was the complexity of media in our country.

4.4 2.5 Lack of access to information

Editor in chief underlined that the main challenge of media houses was lack of freedom of accessing information in Ethiopia. The newspaper was facing different problems regarding with getting information still did not get solutions yet. Especially, access to information was the major problem in the state owned media. As a solution; government activities should be responsible and open for every individual and media. Informant D believes that, in order to have

free media, every government organization should be ready to give information for media. If the government officials open their doors to journalists, they enable to do their job in a good manner as the same time information flow and address the society as soon as possible. Consequently, journalists may get guarantee when they are doing mistakes and accountable for their duties freely.

According to Kahn(2003) quoted in Mendel (2008), the free flow of information and ideas lie at the heart of the very notion of democracy and is crucial to effective respect for human rights. In the absence of respect for the right to freedom of expression, it is not possible to exercise the right to vote, human rights abuses take place in secret, and there is no way to expose corrupt and inefficient government. One of the great challenges for journalists is getting information in time both before and after the reform. In addition to this, a lecturer stated that:

After reform, most journalists were talking about the difficulty of access to information due to misplace of minister of government communication office affair instead of substituting prime minister Communication office which is not well organized and enable to address the information feeding. So, now social media, political partisan media, formal and political struggle media and the relation of media with the image of political institution leads the media environment is very complex, to clear for society government should open for media.

Regarding to the accessibility of information; most of the informants forwarded that after reform the media has been faced many challenges when the journalists have information request from the government than before reform has taken in the country. And also journalists were fear to their security to collect information from different parts of the country due to illegality elevation in country. Especially after government communication affairs office closed and merged with Prime Minister Secretary Office, media couldn't easily access the information which needs to verification from government. This might lead difficult of information flow from government to public.

Ethiopian constitution guarantees that; every individual has the right to access public information and the same as true for journalists have access to get information. On the contrary, public officials have a duty to give the information unless it affects the nation security. The Constitution declared under Article 29 "Right of Thought, Opinion and Expression": (1). everyone has the right to hold opinions without interference. (2). everyone has the right to freedom of expression without any interference.

This right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any media of his choice. (3). Freedom of the press and other mass media and freedom of artistic creativity is guaranteed. However the exercise of freedom of the press is bound to certain limitations. Hence, the media and the practitioners are responsible for their actions. So they should respect the limitations imposed in the constitutional/press laws.

The Ethiopian constitution has put the condition where freedom of expression and the press is subject to limitation. For example, Article 29 (6) states as follows:

Freedom of expression and the press can be limited only through laws which are guided by the principle that freedom of expression and information cannot be limited on account of the content or effect of the point of view expressed. Legal limitations can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of the youth, and the honor and reputation of individuals. Any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited by law (1995 Constitution, Article 29/6).

The universal Declaration of Human Rights put restrictions on freedom of expression stating "solely for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society."

4.4.2.6 Government intervention on state media

With the relation to government intervention on state media close to all informants agreed upon with the practicing of intervention in the state media have been seen in both before and after the reform. Informant A noted that, state owned media are not commonly working by itself by proposing their agenda rather they focuses on after government position is clear and get from direction. That is why media are the reflection of political interests.

Informant C observed that Ethiopia media are close to acclimatize with new comer of political leaders and songs with new environment political system. For instance, the respondent added that, before reform antiterrorist law formulated which limits the media freedom and also after reform hate speech proclamation is coming as drafted which is also another suppressed law. Political pressure and legal shortcomings are main problems of African media. This implies that journalists are not free to report government inefficiency and investigate issues. If they are going

to address such corruptive cases, government faults and human rights violations, there might be arrested, tortured and intimidated by the government.

As the result, whatever we call before and after PM Abiyassume power, the political leaders are circulating media as they want. “Mostly of the time journalists purposely sent to report ceremonial issues but when reporting challenge the existence of government, there were harassment and call uproar, anti-public and the like” as informant C understood. According to the informant after reform the same is true journalists who report government critiques may call obstacle for reform. Totally it is impossible to include different viewpoint those who are not accept reform.

According to Christina presentation ‘*Freedom House*’ uses three broad categories to assess the status of press freedom in each country: legal environment, political influence, and economic pressures. The legal environment 'encompasses an examination of the laws and regulations that could influence media content as well as the government's inclination to use these laws to restrict the ability of the press to operate' (Survey methodology, 2003:xi).

To consider political influence, *Freedom House* evaluates 'the degree of political control over the content of news media. Economic pressures reach from the structure of media ownership and the costs of establishing media outlets to the impact of corruption and bribery on content (Christina, H., 2004). Therefore, to build free and independent media, the journalists should work in the public interests before the government declares the issues and reporting the event.

According to Gerbener (1977) quoted in Oosthuizen (2001), the nature of the relationships between a national government and the media is decisive for what the media are allowed to publish for they are legally, normatively and structurally subject to the control of political institutions. This implies that the media of the nation is highly shaped by the prevailing political power in the country. The politics and media have interrelationship because one influence the other negative and positive way. Undemocratic country politics may have negative effect on media and mislead the role of media for purpose of propaganda. On other side if media function independently and without political influence, it plays an important role to build democracy, development and peace.

4.4.2.7 Reforming of Ethiopia press agency board members

Following reform after PM Abiy Ahmed came to power Ethiopia press agency board members (Addis Zemen is under Ethiopia press agency) from the identical political party member reshuffle and mix in to different political environment which accepts the attitude and reform. According to informant A, the media has been changed the format and board members, this show that press freedom partially improved from before reform. On the contrary way, there was replacement and appointment of administrators was not giving grantees for press freedom due to appointed managers were came from some group which support and execute the aim of the reform as illustrated by informant D.

The other observer informant B also stressed this idea, by explaining board member was not as important as managers who decide the core editorial part of the media. Those managers “also politically assigned which were implementing the political agendas”. Editor in chief gave his opinions, media managements were a pointed by only political affiliation which was needs have require knowledge. So, the assigned media managers should have knowledge about media in addition to the political attachment. But he doubts that media managers who have knowledge, skill and profession to available in the country.

4.4.2.8 Censorship in newsroom

The Constitution declared under Article 29, freedom of the press shall specifically include the following elements: (a) Prohibition of any form of censorship. (b) Access to information of public interest. To this end, in the interest of the free flow of information , ideas and opinions which are essential to the functioning of democratic order, the press shall as an institution enjoy legal protection entertain diverse opinions.

In the reverse one of the identities of dictatorship government is censure the information not to address the public. Censorship is also one of horrific for journalist to work properly and intern contrary affect the media freedom of information and press. According to informants E like censorship in media before reform, there was also censorship after reform. The informant experienced that while in the field to reports issues government officials ordered to stop. For instance, unfortunately a journalist tried to cover the starvation of Gedio people, the news rejected by the official commands.

Informant D also agrees on this reflection that when the news story discomforts government, it cuts or totally rejected. Editor in chief commented that; even though media managers didn't free from the political influence, it should have been appointed according to the journalism profession knowledge they have. Respondent memorized that "while reporting investigative issues, we were face threat from some officials to jump down or ignore the news". Such threats resulted the newspaper refuses to transmit different investigative reporting issues to the public. Censorship can also come from the individual journalists, due to fear of consequence actions. According to Loo (2009) on the other hand notes that self-censor negatively affects good journalism when it is exercised for personal safety.

Self-censorship is embedded in the news process regardless of where the media operates. Good reporters, however, self-censor for good reasons-to steer clear of defamation, to avoid misrepresenting actualities, to be fair, meticulous with details and solidly accurate. It becomes a worry if self-censorship is habitual and unthinking and when it is committed more for personal preservation than for ethical principles. Self-censorship committed out of learned fear, in many cases unjustifiably, only leads to uninvestigated legitimate issues, a compromised bigger picture and concealed truth.

4.5 How to media get freedom

The independent and free media appear through many processes it passes by responsibility of all stakeholders. However, government and professional is the main actress to ensure of media freedom. Informants C suggested that when media managers changed, there should be done by investigate where the problem is and who has the ability of solve this problem. If the media continue with appointing managers by political views, the media will also continue with the problem of mouthpiece for government. Informant B also suggested that for media independency journalists should be focuses their work deeply investigating the issues behind ceremonial reporting. Government should strengthen the capacity building, finance and creating comfortable working environments for journalists was emphasized.

The government should leave media for professionals, keep far away from intervention and open information for media, informants added. The editors may have his or her political view like any citizen but that their political view should not affect the practice of the media. Not only editors

but also journalists should avoid their political leaning and stick to the norm of objectivity. The media practitioners should not take sides instead they should entertain the interest of the public.

According to Kovach and Rosenstein (2007), the practice of journalism should provide enough information that the audience wants and needs for variety of purposes. Hence the media should be a place where the interest of the public is entertained and media practitioners should work to provide the information the public need. Regarding this, informant B proposed that, government must works for improvement of press freedom by giving emphasize media proclamation improvement, organizing media houses by technically, giving permit ion for reporters to focus covering on public interest beyond the political interests.

Amid, state should worry about the security of journalists and giving support financially to strength income of the journalist. And also, the government should fulfill the resource and infrastructure of the institutions. Furthermore, informant E agreed on this idea, media manager should assign with their knowledge rather than what political attitudes they possess. The journalists must be leaving out from deception to find the reality and to get the public attention as it was reflected.

The journalists should stand and keep for ethical standards and struggle for rights, replied by informant D. “Media should independent from politics that helps to work dividend and journalists must be work their job without influence of any political ideology through focusing human interest issues are important for press freedom” as informant’s opinion. Every government organizations should give information for media, as it replied.

According to informant C ideas, journalist should go behind from the public relation speeches to dig out and investigate different issues. And also journalist should respect the ethnics of journalism rather than their attitude and believe impose on the newsroom. Informant also emphasized that the media is better to manage by whom the skill and knowledgeable person. The independence and free media would appear through building democracy that guarantees freely express opinion and disseminate information via media as stressed by veteran journalist.

He also added that media laws and proclamations don’t have value without insuring the democracy system as media freedom is one pillar of democracy. The media laws and proclamations are only uses for workable environment in journalism after democracy system.

Recently after Abiy Ahmed appointed as Prime Minister in Ethiopia some bad signs were observed that hinders the democracy building which is also intern lead to media suppressive. Drafting hate speech law and condemning the face book and social media was sign of suppressive democracy in country as veteran journalist pointed out.

Free media exercised though changing community attitude in to democratic system which able to solving the problem by discussion when diversity is appeared. The nation should be building democracy from starting family member up to organization by teaching the democracy rights and duties of society as chief editor said. In line with this, every individual should take the responsibility to achieve democracy building process. And also he commented that, the government should protect the journalists' security when they are reporting an investigation issues. In addition to this, the reporters should be done their job according to what the profession and ethics ordered.

4.6 Working environment of Ethiopia media

Even if media are talking about freedom, they are not democrat and freedom within them as a lecturer articulated. Because of the relation between the media owners and professionals are not based on profession, and also journalists and editors forced write a story without the journalism ethics. Media freedom may influence not only by government but also by different direction such as from religious institution, political parties and individuals to partisan for some group as he replied. The last 27 years, many journalists and opposition political party members were in jail that shows lack of press freedom Ethiopia and ranked lowest from the world in press freedom scale he remembered. He mentioned an example Ethiopia constitution gives the right to not to penal the journalist by the published content but in practice is in the reverse. To compare with the recent administrative system, the media freedom was not developed yet.

4.7 Government owned media editorials and trends

The state owned media couldn't change the trend of working environment and the only different from reform was start to listen the previously banned individual ideas and the coverage of variety political party events as the explanation of a lecturer. Comparatively it seems to have freedom but state owned media still intended to tag on the government policy agenda. He expressed that state own media editorial policy were not reshuffle, which states that the news source of the state

own media is the parliament, prime minister office and different government institutions and regional parliament as well as regional offices respectively gives prominence in prime time.

Even if state own media are responsible for parliament member, they were controlled by the government executers which has being working as mouthpiece previously as obligatory reversely now reporting the government agenda by politeness in relation to reform as he articulated. A lecturer also explained that as the same manner in print media the content of the news story is not differ after reform. They focuses only on the government official activity, if the government doesn't give attention, they also ignore the social issues and events. For example state owned media refuse to give the news coverage of refuge Gedio society as it has pointed out.

Most of the state media given news coverage following with government foot rather than they reporting investigative, planned and public interest. State owned media houses are following the same course with previous work trend; exceptional ideas and attitudes were not given an attention in their newspaper. The main reason to stay in this environment is mangers, communication experts and editors having a negative impact on the news room as Dr. explained. He elaborated that reporting the reality of the events and critiquing the government were not visible on their publishers. If the media give coverage in exceptional case on deep criticizing reporting it might be one of measurement of press freedom.

Likewise, recently on *Addis Zemen* newspaper the content of covering news focuses on the PM office, parliament, ruling party speeches and activities were appear in front page like before Abiy Ahmed came into power, he memorized. The opposition political parties' news coverage is very low; in the reverse government higher official takes wider space in front page of the newspaper. So the newspaper follows with consistence like in previous way without having editorial change as has replied. Press freedom barriers such as anti-terrorist law and press law which are suppressive phrase and statement on the way of revising as a lecture underlined.

According to Shoemaker and Reese the important role that ownership plays in news media organization. They argue that, "although news departments may be organizationally buffered from the larger firm, content is still controlled indirectly through hiring and promotion practices" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). For example, newspapers usually endorse political candidates who echo the owner's or publisher's political attitude. In fact, ownership has

become such a powerful force behind the media organization that not only editorials and columns but also the coverage of news and features reflects the political beliefs or interest of the owners. Fundamental to an understanding of media structure is the question of ownership and how the powers of ownership are exercised.

4.8 Professional ethics

Regarding to reporting the event, there should an orientation for editors and journalists which will be enables to identify the consequence the events as A lecturer forwarded. Media are the main problem by themselves for press freedom due to lack of democracy and respecting professional ethics. To overcome this, it takes time through keeping independency of professional ethics, during reporting, journalist should leave from their interest and benefit of political and economy affair he stressed. A lecture also stated that:

Not only to have good government and press law but also respecting journalism ethics and using strong professional association (council) reporters should manage by themselves to improve media freedom. Through time, press freedom achieves after the journalists are organized freely and independently, enable administer their work by themselves. In addition to this, democratization and improving the institutional working procedures is necessary for media freedom.

As Sydeny (1963) argued journalists have some freedom to develop the professional point of view, and “a journalist is a professional to the extent that they conceives themselves as employed by the public to serve the public”. From the above data researcher can concluded that journalists provide information, which they feel important to the wider public as accurately and objectively as possible. To do so, journalists should possess the techniques, skills and knowledge of good reporting at least better than the laymen can do it. The key role of journalism can be implemented only by people who possess knowledge or education, sense of public service orientation and a quality to sense news and a skill to report. That is why; journalism education has become a worldwide phenomenon that journalists are expected to attend the formal training before joining the occupation.

But they also need to be protected against influence from both economic and political interests. The weight of influence can vary: journalists with solid morals would resist even strong pressure, while low professional ethics lead to voluntary self-censorship in the interest of the sponsor or owner. Institutional representation of journalists’ interests, lab our protection against dismissal

and intimidation, and good professional education and training are all needed to achieve a working model of independent and diverse journalism. Rules and practical implementation of the right to access to public information, along with protection of journalistic sources and freedom from search of premises and from secret surveillance are also necessary to ensure that journalists enjoy proper working conditions.

4.9 The entertaining different viewpoint on its published

In this part illustrate how the newspaper present and give an opportunity regarding to the presentation of different ideology, views and perspectives which is one part of press freedom indicator. *Addis Zemen* newspaper published news on May 7, 2018 by different political party leaders regarding to congregation different viewpoint on its own newspaper. The news states that *Addis Zemen* newspaper from its establishment up to recently serving mouthpiece in different three consecutive governments. Nearly in recent years, the newspaper changed through reporting public issue especially after editorial policy established by proclamation.

The political issue analysis mister Abebe Aynete (interviewed on May 7, 2018 with the newspaper) said that, from the establishment of newspaper up to in recent time, the newspaper serves for instrument of political signers that leads under estimated in its content. Lack of reporting different attitudes lead to not getting the loyalty he said. The newspaper didn't work as much as possible like its elderly with freedom for professionalism. Because of traditional trends of the journalists' attitude, he added that, the newspaper didn't work for public even for the government.

The manager of newspaper, who looks everything by political view, had negative impact on public interest. However, in recent years some extent different viewpoint report becoming visible on newspaper, as mister Abebe forwarded. With regard to its capability and public responsibility of the newspaper, it expected to do more he emphasized. Newspaper needs a manager who perceives entertaining different idea as optimistic opportunity that makes it to attractable.

Newspaper needs professional managers who are free from any political influence that helps to entertain different point of view and comfortable environment in the newsroom to apply all journalism ethics well. To improve the profession of journalism, journalist should be stand and struggle with patience for truth. As well as the managers also need to have strong confident to perform the every activities with ethical disciplines.

The Oromo federalist congress (OFC) leader professor Merera Gudina (interviewed with *Addis Zemen* newspaper on May 7, 2018) also forwarded his opinion that, the newspaper has been serving a mouthpiece for autocratic administrative system for long period of time rather than voice of public. Most of the newspaper works were marked as black point on it across 77 years rather than an exemplar for free media.

The *Addis Zemen* newspaper couldn't change its content still now, it has been serving biased with a full of government propaganda and position by ignoring the other attitudes, as it has pointed out. He believes that, in order to the newspaper serve for public interest and to entertain different viewpoint the media should leave out from political affiliation managers and perform on the merit editorial policy.

The president of Ethiopia Democratic Party Doctor Chane Kebede was given his idea for the newspaper agreed with the idea of professor Merera, the newspaper couldn't work for public agenda as comparable to the elderly of its established. It couldn't serve freely the different political ideology as expected he mentioned. The newspaper might probably give the diverse ideology during election, then after that, it excludes the diverse political party opinion by focusing the government agenda he stressed. But the media should be present whole people equally; especially competitive political party should give an opportunity in the newspaper.

The Semayawi party chairman Mister Yeshiwas Asefa had the same opinion with the idea of the newspaper didn't work as expected. Due to this reason, as the newspaper administration by the public property it needs grass root change. He alleged that even if it administrates under the government, the newspaper has no legal frame to prohibit the diverse ideas to include in the news story; on contrary way, the government officials tactically influence the institution leaders and journalists not to hold proper function.

Consequently the newspaper needs to change and free from any influences that enables professional independency. In order to attract the reader, media should focus based on the truth, objectivity, inclusive and impartiality of the news story. To achieve the objectivity of the media not only the government but also every stakeholder should works together as he described.

From the above data the researcher finding that, press freedom in state owned media didn't change after Abiy Ahmed appointed as Prime Minister in Ethiopia. Most informants suggested that like previously state owned media status couldn't shift from the old trend of mouthpiece of government. The media law and proclamation has not yet changed after reform which is guaranty for media autonomy.

As it can be seen from the above, the media couldn't liberate from Government intervention which was not administer by its professional human power. The state owned media still faced censorship, lack information accessibility and exclusion of diverse idea. Due to lack of security assurance, journalists couldn't got freedom to move place to place to collect information, lack of doing investigative issues in scheduled manner. The informants also suggested that press freedom in state own media should be administer by themselves, free from any political ideology.

Likewise, media must be loyal for their profession, focusing on the investigative issues and entertain different point of view. Government should be open its door for journalists to access information. There are several factors that account for the rollback of press freedom in the country especially in state owned media. Management in government media is one of the problems; lacks professionalism as they are guided by lengthy government rules, regulations and directives. Government media have long been criticized for being recruitment center of political cadres. This trend has seriously weakened diverse aspects of human resource management of government media.

According to Bista (2015), Political appointment of the executive of government media institutions is another big problem that directly reflects on the management issues. Sometimes, direct appointment of personalities of non-media background at the top-most managerial posts has even worsened the situation. This implies that lack of management knowledge and understanding among top level employees is another problem of management in government media. Management problems are of two types; internal and external which created by internal and external environmental factors of the organization. Internal environments are controllable and management can take necessary actions to bring it into the track, but the external environment which is vague and beyond the control of organization can bring serious problems.

However, to make sum up the idea the researcher divided in to three: government, legal framework, and lack of professionalism culture among other factors. But they also need to be protected against influence from both economic and political interests. The weight of influence can vary: journalists with solid morals would resist even strong pressure, while low professional ethics lead to voluntary self-censorship in the interest of the sponsor or owner.

Media institutional should protect the journalists' interests, give guarantee against dismissal and intimidation, and good professional education and providing training are all needed to achieve a working model of independent and diverse journalism. Rules and practical implementation of the right to access to public information, along with protection of journalistic sources and freedom from search of premises and from secret surveillance are also necessary to ensure that journalists enjoy proper working conditions.

Therefore, media managers should be able to anticipate or forecast the potential changes in the external environment and plan accordingly to avoid serious problems affecting the organizations in the future. From the above data observed that media organization might have clearly defined its own vision, mission, goals and objectives. In general state owned media managers are very crucial for freedom of press assured which are observed in both before and after reform.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 summary

The purpose of this study was to distinguish the press freedom status before and after Ethiopia PM Abiy Ahmed elected (one year before and one year after or April 2017-March 2019) case study on *Addis zemen* newspaper. This chapter presents conclusion of research finding and the researcher's necessary suggestion for press freedom issues. The main purpose of this part is to summaries the existence of press freedom after Ethiopia political reform or Doctor Abiy Ahmed appointed as Prime Minister. The researcher based on the finding of the study came up with the following summary, conclusion and recommendation.

The researcher can summarize the key finding from the finding and analysis part regarding to press freedom of the newspaper reporting both before and after the reform shows that;

- They lack neutrality: most of the political news story lacks the neutrality and impartiality of the events; consequently they are inclined to some party or segment. The news most probability resembles to ruling parties.
- They lack critiques: it gives coverage government propaganda within two years and similar reporting style in political story both before and on higher government faults and wrong actions.
- Lack of entertaining different viewpoints: it couldn't include the strongly opposing individual's ideas which were the ruling party ideologies.
- Media couldn't liberate from Government intervention which was not administer by its professional human power (partisan of ruling party),
- Lack of information accessibility, censorship, lack of protection for journalists that enables them to move place to place freely to collect information, lack of doing investigative issues in scheduled manner in the news paper especially in state owned media.
- The newspaper focused reporting on what the government desired and interested (much piece of the government).

- The majority of the source of news before and after the reform was mainly the government officials.
- Most of the time, the newspaper lack of investigating core problems and cases such as injustice, inequity, illegal action, corruption and human right violation rather mouthpiece of the government.
- After PM Abiy Ahmed came in to power, the news source comes from reform which is prepared by the government officials and supporters of the PM Abiy Ahmed administrative system.
- At the time of transition period mostly observed the media are free to condemn the former government within new comer political system what government say so. Likewise before, most of the newspaper work couldn't critique deeply the recent government administrative system. The trend of state owned media unable to change their attitude to adapt the exercising of free press.
- Media legal framework laws and proclamations were not changed still the issue under study.
- Lack creating conducive environment were setbacks to the media to practice on the ground freely.

After reform like previously in the newsroom; there were censorship, lack of information accessibility and influence of government official in the newspaper. What the researcher mention from the above are most probably indicate the lack of press freedom indices. As the result, press freedom in state owned media before and after the reform does not show visible change.

5.2 Conclusion

Qualitative data gathering techniques; textual document analysis and interview were used to analyze the newspaper political category news story to differentiate press freedom before and after reform. Individual in depth interview were employed to undertake the study using purposive sampling technique, a total of 8 study subjects were selected for in-depth interviews.

The study focused on to examining the exercise of press freedom, assessing influence of government, political and economic reshuffle, profession independency in accordance with press law and what are the opportunities of press freedom to exercise independently before and after reform was prevailed.

To meet this objective the study began with the textual document analysis of the political news which appeared in political column of newspaper. In line with this, political news textual document analysis was done to get necessary information about how free the news from political and other influence, by evaluating their tone, source (point of view), critique and government propagandas. Coupled with, a total of 14 political news stories from the newspaper were analyzed based on the measurement. In addition the interview part also was conducted to get rich data that the individual interviewees would reveal information about the status of press freedom before and after PM Abiy Ahmed came in to power.

As a result, the predominance data from the in-depth interview reveal that the press freedom in Ethiopia before and after reform in Ethiopia state owned media were remain the same. With regard to the press independence after PM Abiy Ahmed came in to power and from his speech most of the people expected to change the press freedom and the state owned media will voice for voiceless. Even though PM Abiy Ahmed told that government will work for the media freedom and independency, state own media couldn't achieve independency rather mouthpiece of the government.

The research concluded that after reform the state owned media news reporting were follow the same path like before the PM Abiy Ahmed came in to power. The collected data shows that *Addis Zemen* newspaper published the political news story what the government desired and interested. From the in-depth individual interviews one of reason of this problem is the spirit of media workers couldn't accept the new media environment to do their work freely and independency.

The study found that there was no visible change appeared in state own media freely to exercise journalism ethics. Most of the political news story emphasizes that positive and strong side of the government administrative system or political ideology. But both before and after reform, negative tone of the news story were observed relate to the institutional fault, weakness and lack of good governance rather general administrative system of the ruling parties and ideologies. Most of the political news lacks the neutrality and impartiality of the events, consequently they are partisan to some party or segment.

It was found that the source of news before reform was mainly the government official, political appointees, press release, press confers. Not to mention, the news took as more worthy when the governments confirms or announce the issue and officials willing to give information to the journalists. Most of the time, the newspaper couldn't try to investigate different types of injustice, inequity, illegal action, corruption and human right violation rather mouthpiece of the government.

After PM Abiy Ahmed came in to power, the news source comes from reform which is prepared by the government officials and supporters of the PM Abiy Ahmed administrative system. The newspaper may seem to present the voice of the people in the event that what government wants and interests kept. But when the people's voice couldn't match or clash with reform the story might ignore whatever the worthiness matter. This mostly observed while the country in transition period, the media are free to condemn the former government within new comer political system what government say so. As the result media couldn't free from government influence and notwithstanding to work independently accordingly with their manual manner.

It was found that in the newspaper before reform had underprivileged in entertaining different opinions, attitudes and political ideologies instead it focuses on the same voice that amplify government agendas, ideology, strategies and policies. A person who come across government agenda in opposite way or has dissimilar idea mostly may considered as and called the anti peace, anti-democracy, terrorist and anti development.

Comparatively after reform or after PM Abiy Ahmed ascended to the power, the newspaper presented the story without including the opposite idea or different point of view rather what Abiy administration interests kept. Especially the news mostly focuses on the Prime Minister speech such as justice, democracy, equality and reform. The researcher found that most of the time the newspaper promotes Abiy Ahmed administration system and it uses phrase like to achieve, not to reverse reform and unify (endemer). On the other way a person who has an disagreement at reform and didn't accept the reform, the newspaper unable give an opportunity to include the opinion rather it called anti reform and terrorism.

Media hasn't changed the content of presentation instead the newspaper by criticize old administration system, problem of good governance in some selected institutions and

organizations. Some selected individuals who has negative attitude at previous administration system may include point of view that reform couldn't give weight as the previous (before reform) administrative system and desire to criticize.

Likewise before, most of the newspaper work couldn't critique deeply the recent government administrative system. The researcher found that, the news critiques might come from old administrative system and government interests both before and after PM Abiy Ahmed administration. Moreover, newspaper focused on the lack of good governance, and small public institution without condemn the ruling political parties system or without touch the government interests.

It was also found that in *Addis Zemen* newspaper news story presented the government propaganda within two years and comparable reporting style in political story both before and after the reform related with regarding the issue of ruling party's ideology and agendas.

It was identified that almost all in-depth individual interviewees stated that most of Ethiopia media didn't change their attitude to adapt the exercising of free press. Most of informants' suggested that after reform press freedom has not improved still yet. State owned media were not changed from previous environment. They have been continuing with consistency with the same path by serving ruling party with loyalist still and also that government media are flow with the government agenda setting rather they planned by itself.

From the informants researcher concluded that not only media legal framework laws and proclamations were not improved, but also lack creating conducive environment were setbacks to the media to practice on the ground. The press freedom especially in state media is the only different after PM Abiy Ahmed was that more oral talking much about press freedom availability but in practices no change at all, that is what the difference before reform is. The informants also described that after reform in the newsroom like previously there were censorship, lack of information accessibility and influence of government official in the newspaper.

The study found that the future of freedom of expression and the press depends on the joint effort of journalists and establishment of strong press council. The role of the government should not also be forgotten in creating conducive environment to the establishment of the council. The council would have promoted the profession by setting code of conducts, actively giving

trainings to journalists and solving journalistic problems. It is also dependent on a remarkable contribution of the people, improvement of the political system. The system of democratic governance is still infant and on the process of development. As the political system gets more and more democratic, there will be parallel degree of improvement in freedom of expression and the press.

The trend of polarity between government and privately owned media ever since the coming of before PM Abiy Ahmed comes to power has continued to drastically affect the trend of journalistic practice. The Ethiopian media landscape suffers from the agnostic relations between government and private media. So, media should be neutral from political parties and present their information by balancing from different side.

According to informants in transition government press looks like get freedom after that government get power then it will limits the freedom of media, for instance after reform some bad signs observed that government wants to control the media freedom. After PM Abiy Ahmed came in to power especially state owned media didn't show weakness of current administration system rather they were criticizing the former party of EPDRF Prime Minister MeleseZenawi administration. Press freedom is assured after democracy develops in Ethiopia but democracy is doesn't alive in the country. So without building democracy system, formulating press law by itself couldn't achieve media freedom in the country.

Despite the fact that the editorial policy guides the overall running of a media, the research identified how the political views of editors and media managers affect the way the media house operates. What is not editorial policy prohibiting in newsroom, but the editors and managers' might be impossible to give coverage in certain investigative issues. The other challenge thing in the newspaper was accessing information from public bodies has been a serious challenge for the media. This is mainly due to the failure of public bodies to carry out their duty of giving information for the media as per journalists' request.

Furthermore news source of the state own media were government organizations such as the parliament, prime minister office and different government institutions and regional parliament as well as regional offices respectively gives prominence in prime time. The other factors that hinder press freedom are even if media has been talking about freedom, they were not democrat

and freedom within themselves. The relation between the media owners, professionals are not based on profession, journalists and editors forced write without the journalism ethics. The result of the study indicates that media freedom may influence not only by government but also by different direction such as from religious institution, different political parties and by individuals who were partisan for some group.

At the same time Ethiopia constitution gives the right to not to penal the journalist by the published content but in actual practice was in the reverse. Recently when journalist was sent to report the event, there were intimidations, threat and emergency happed due to lack of security assured in the country. To compare before reform with the recent administrative system, the media freedom was not developed yet. Press freedom means also the right to freely move anywhere to collect information.

The independent and free media appear through many processes by responsibility of all of stakeholders. However, government and professional is the main actress to ensure of media freedom. Media managers replacement should be done by investigate where the problem is and who has the ability of solve. If managers assigned by political perception the media continue with the problem of press freedom. Government should strengthen the capacity building, financial support and creating comfortable working environments for journalists. Besides this, Journalists should be focuses on profession by investigating deeply the issues behind ceremonial reporting. Okunna (2002:219) argue that, there is some form of government control of almost every national news agency in developing countries; it would be difficult for Journalists to report any accurate and balanced stories, as they would have loved to do. Therefore, government should leave media for professionals, keep far away from intervention and open information for media.

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

5.3. Recommendation

The media have an important function in providing information, facilitating and promoting the public debate which is essential to the proper functioning of democracy. They are the main source of information for the people on various socio-economic and political issues. For the media to serve as forum for variety of views, they need to function with autonomy and without

interference by either government or business sector. In a developing country like Ethiopia, the contribution of the media is indeed significant.

They are supposed to create not only awareness among the public on various issues and mould public view but also mobilize the public on various developmental efforts. Besides, the media have a great contribution in educating the public about issues that may have direct or indirect effect on their life. The information provision role of the media about the new policies together with their potential contributions and weaknesses is so significant.

The media are instrumental in setting agendas on various public issues and hence they contribute in bringing the problems of the public to the attention of concerned bodies. Therefore media should be neutral from political affiliations and partisans through presenting the factual information, investigating problematic issues, entertaining different ideas through balancing source from different side of concerned body. And also media should be supposed to criticize wrong doers and show the weakness of government activities.

The government, considering the profound function of the media, should have commitment to freedom of expression and the press thereby giving attention to the implementation of the press law. Alongside most of the time government implements of the laws which help to improve media working environment on the other hand it declared proclamation regards to media that hinders or limited the freedom. For instance press law on one side verses anti-terrorism proclamation. After reform hate speech proclamation under draft while the research under study other constraints on press freedom. Like anti-terrorism proclamation previously, hate speech is other problem in media industry due to wide range and open to define in different perspective to accuse journalists. Therefore media freedom Ethiopia is playing like giving and taking media freedom rights. Under this circumstance, government should not disregard the views and criticisms from the media since part of the contribution of the media is the criticisms they publish and broadcast to show the weakness and gaps of the government.

Correspondingly, media houses must give trainings to journalists so that they can be familiar with the legal provision in the press law. Any attempt to change the landscape of the Ethiopian media for the better would not be possible without bringing a change to the management or leadership of the media. Hence, the gatekeepers of the media should be thoughtful of the role of

the media in informing the public and creating awareness on different matters of public importance. Media managers should be assigned by their profession rather than the political affiliation. In addition to, journalist should be loyal for their profession, standing with the reality and have patience when they are struggling the rights and duties of citizens. Whatever political ideology, religious, ethnicity do journalists have, they shouldn't be impose their perspectives on reporting instead giving priority for public interest and factuality of the events. The establishment of strong press council will be keys to create a better, more responsible media. The press council should be strict to the implementation of journalism ethics and not only helps guide the media practice through code of ethics but also solves various journalistic problems like gaps of professional skill. A functional Media Council, including representative from both private and government media, would be crucial for a democratic development of the Ethiopian media sector. If the media Council could become an independent, legitimate body easy handle complaints and take on a self-regulation as well as mediating and arbitrating between media outlets and citizens. The political, legal framework and the possibility, as well as the ability, of the private sector to self-regulate will be instrumental for the development of the media sector, as well as to what extent the Government will allow professionals, critical investigative reporting on issues like corruption and bad governance.

Furthermore, public bodies should make information available to help journalists inform the public about the actions of the government. Easy access to information will raise the participation of the people on vital developmental program and efforts. The other alternative option to improve press is the higher institutions should be give education according to countries status quo and producing skilled graduates who will bring changes in the media house. This will reduce the problem of skilled manpower in the media. To achieve the freedom of the press and expression, the government should develop culture of tolerance towards the media. What is more, the government, professionals and the media should look for ways to narrow the gap between the government and the private media so that both the private and government media can contribute better to the development of the nation.

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Appendix I

In-depth interview questions for intellectuals

1. Do you think that press freedom appeared after Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed come to power in Ethiopia relatively before?(April, 2017 up to March 2019)
2. What are the factors that recent press freedom exercises in Ethiopia media better than before reform? If you believe press freedom is improved or if not why?
3. Do state owned media give equal chance for different ideology or viewpoint after reform?
4. What is the difference observed on press freedom after Ethiopia political reform?
5. Could media practice according to Ethiopia media law without government intervention after reform? And what about before reform?
6. What do you think media censorship in Ethiopia especially state owned media?
7. What is the main reason for the journalists to censorship?
8. Do you think that government official or politicians currently abuse freedom of press?
9. Do you think that state owned media organization serving as mouthpiece of political officials or political system as whole before Abiy? What about after reform in Ethiopia?
10. Do you believe that political economic factor influence press freedom in Ethiopia? Explain why?
11. How do evaluate the press freedom of magazines, newspaper and other print media recently in Ethiopia? If there is hasn't change state your reason and remedy for futurity press freedom.

Appendix II

In-depth interview questions for professionals (ለምሁራንና ለሙያተኞች የሚቀርብ የመነሻ ጥያቄዎች)

1. አበይ አህመድ ወደ ስልጣን ከመጡ በኋላና ከመምጣታቸው በፊት የአገሪቱ የፕሬስ ነጻነት ሁኔታ እንዴት ይመለከቱታል?
2. በአገሪቱ የፕሬስ ነጻነቱ ሁኔታ መሻሻል አለ ካሉ ቢያበራሩ በአንጻሩ ለውጥ የለም እንዲሁ ምክንያቶቹን ሊያበራሩ ይችላሉ?
3. ከለውጡ በኋላ የመንግስት ሚዲያዎች የተለያዩ አስተሳሰቦችን ማንሻራሽር የሚያስችል አሰራር ይከተላል?
4. ከለውጡ በኋላ በፕሬስ ነጻነቱ ላይ የታዩ ምልክቶችን እንዴት ይመዝኑዋቸዋል?
5. የአገሪቱ ሚዲያዎች ከመንግስት ጣልቃገብነት ውጪ የፕሬስ ህጉ በሚፈቅደው መንገድ በተግባር በመስራት ረገድስ ሐሳብዎን ይግለፁ? ከለውጡ ጋር አያይዘው ይግለጹ?
6. በመንግስት ሚዲያዎች ያለውን መረጃዎችን የማፈንና ወደ ህዝብ እንዳይደረስ የማድረግ ሁኔታን እንዴት ይገልጹታል?
7. መረጃዎችን ለህዝብ እንዳይደርስ ለምን ይደረጋል?
8. የመንግስት የስራ ኃላፊዎች የፕሬስ ነጻነት ላይ ስለሚያደርሱት ጫና እንዴት ሊገለጽ ይችላል?
9. የመንግስት ሚዲያዎች ለገዥው ስርዓት አላማ ማስፈጸሚያ ማሳሪያ ናቸው? ከለውጡ በፊትና በኋላ በንጽጽር ያብራሩ?
10. የአገሪቱ ያለው ፖለቲካና የኢኮኖሚ ሁኔታ ለፕሬስ ነጻነቱ ምን አስተዋጽኦ አለው?
11. በአሁኑ ወቅት ያለው የህትመት ሚዲያ ነጻነት ምን ይመስላል? መሻሻል ከሌለ ምክንያቶችንና መፍትሔዎቹንም ያስቀምጡ?

Appendix III

In depth interview questions for Addis Zemen newspaper employees

1. How do you evaluate press freedom in your newspaper after Doctor Abiy Ahmed appointed as Prime Minister?
2. How could you differentiate press independent before PM Abiy Ahmed come to power in your news paper?
3. Do you think that your news room offer or give opportunities for different viewpoint or diverse opinions equally rather government propaganda?
4. Have your news reports been censored by politician officials? Do you undertake self censorship?
5. If your answer for question 4 yes, explain comparatively before and after reform in Ethiopia or coming of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed?
6. How do you evaluate the editorial policy of your organization in relation to political system? Is it possible to exercise the profession or practice up to editorial policy?
7. Do you think that your media organization serving as mouthpiece of ruling party as whole before coming of doctor Abiy? What about after reform in Ethiopia? What will your suggestion as a solution?

Appendix IV

ለአዲስ ዘመን ጋዜጣ ባለሙያዎች ወይም ጋዜጠኞች የሚቀርቡ መነሻ ጥያቄዎች (key informants)

1. ጠቅላይ ሚኒስቴር አብይ አህመድ ወደ ስልጣን ከመጡ በኋላ በጋዜጣው ያለውን የፕሬስ ነጻነት እንዴት ያዩታል?
2. ዶክተር አብይ የኢትዮጵያ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስቴር ሆነው ከመሾማቸው በፊት ያለው የፕሬስ ነጻነት እንዴት ይመዘኑታል ከአሁኑ ጋር እያነጻጸሩ ያብራሩት?
3. ጋዜጣው በአሁኑ ወቅት የተለያዩ ሀሳቦችን በማስተናገድ ለሁሉም እኩል እድል ይሰጣል ወይስ የመንግስትን ፍላጎት ብቻ ያስተጋባል?
4. ዘገባዎች በመንግስት የስራ ኃላፊዎች ጫና ውድቅ ይደረጋሉ ወይም እርስዎስ ፍቃድ የሚመጣብዎን ቅጣት ፈርተው ዘገባውን ያስቀራሉ?
5. ዘገባዎች ውድቅ ይደረጋሉ ካሉ ከለውጡ በኋላና በፊት ያለውን ልዩነት እያነጻጸሩ ያብራሩ?
6. የደርጅቱን ኢዲዮሪያል ፖሊሲ የፖለቲካ ስርዓቱ ጋር እንዴት ይመዘኑታል የጋዜጠኝነቱን ሙያ በነጻነት ለማከናወን ያስችላሉ ወይስ ይገድባሉ ?
7. እርስዎ የሚሰሩበት የሚዲያ ተቋም ከለውጡ በፊት የገዥውን ስርዓት አላማና ተልዕኮ ሙሉ በሙሉ የማስፈጸሚያ መሳሪያ ሆኖ ሲያገለግል ነበር ወይ? ከለውጡ በኋላስ?

Appendix V

List of key informants

1. Doctor Teshager Shiferaw: a lecturer for Journalism and communication department in Addis Ababa Universality, April 16, 2019.
2. Eskender Nega: Publisher and editor-in-chief of the *Ethiopia* newspapers April 6, 2019.
3. Fekadu Mola: editor in chief of *Addis Zemen* newspaper, April 11, 2019.
4. Wondesen Shimels: editor of *Addis Zemen* newspaper, April 8, 2019.
5. Girma Mengiste : editor of *Addis Zemen* newspaper, April 8, 2019.
6. Melaku Eroset : reporter of *Addis Zemen* newspaper, April 8, 2019.
7. Fiyori Tewolde : reporter of *Addis Zemen* newspaper, April 8, 2019.
8. Addisu Germew: reporter of *Addis Zemen* newspaper, April 8, 2019.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Dawit Ewunetie _____

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June, 2019